ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY



By
Nagendranath Vasu

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THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY

OF

MAYURABHANJA.

Vol. I.

BY

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Sûryya-deva *from* Ayodhyâ.

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PREFACE.

It is now nearly eighteen years that I happened to come by several copper-plate grants together with rubbings from a number of inscriptions discovered in Orissa which went far to prove that the till then accepted theories regarding the antiquities of that historic land were erroneous in many respects. A close and careful examination of these materials led me to conclude that the earlier part of the Mādalā-Pañji of Orissa was not only unreliable as a guide in regard to the old chronology of her Princes but positively misleading. I was also under the strong impression that further careful researches were likely to bring more resources within the reach of scholars, leading to conclusions that would materially differ from, nay, in some cases even go so far as to explode, the established theories. So I embarked on a research in Orissa and embodied the results thereof in my Bengali Encyclopaedia, the Viçvakoṣa,* besides contributing some articles based on them to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.†

It was about this time also that I took a short trip into Orissa by sea and visited several important places there. As a result of this, I

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* Viçvakosa—Vol.V. Arts., Gângeya, Gopinâthapura ;
—Vol. VI., Arts., Châteçvara, Jagannâtha ;
—Vol. XIV., Art., Bhuvaneçvara.

Vide also the Praçasti of Bhatta Bhavadeva with a facsimile in my Banger Jatiya Itihâsa (1902). Vol. I.

† *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, (Kendupatnâ plates of Narasimha II), Vol. LXV. Part I. p 235ff : (Meghegvara Inscription of Svapnegvara Deva). Vol LXVI. Pt. I. p. 11ff and (Châteçvara Inscription of Anangabhima II) Vol LXVII. Pt. I. p. 317ff.

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returned richer in the possession of some further materials and these were found to be good enough to substantiate some of the theories recently started by me. Encouraged by this success, I did feel a strong desire to explore the hidden resources of this country and accordingly submitted an elaborate plan of work to Dr. Rudolf Hoernle, the then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. And he was kind enough to encourage me in every possible way, even going so far as to ask me to wait a few months to see if he could secure for me some financial aid from the Government. In his native goodness he also offered to give me letters of introduction to the Commissioner of the Orissa Division and other high officials there with the request that they would lend me every possible help in the realization of my project. These kind letters of his I have preserved as marks of his appreciation of my humble services in the field of historical research. Dr. G. A. Griarson, the renowned linguist, and Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Çāstri (now Vice-President) were at that time respectively filling the chair of the Philological Secretary and of the Joint-Philological Secretary to the Asiatic Society. They also helped me in various ways, especially in the publication of the copper-plate inscriptions which I had then deciphered. They offered me a seat on the Philological Committee of the Society which I gladly accepted. But with all these favourable conditions I was not able to take up the projected exploration at that time owing to certain domestic troubles and some other causes. In the meantime, however, other scholars had come to the field, whose labours in the interests of historical research in the various parts of Orissa cannot be too higly praised. Dr. Fleet's learned discourse

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on and criticism of the Mādalā Pāñji and Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti's devoted labours in the field of the ancient history of Orissa have directed the course of research in that country into a new channel altogether.

While admiring the works of these learned scholars, little did I think that again an opportunity would soon present itself to me for the realization of my long cherished desire to have a share in the exploration of Orissa—that picturesque and historic land of decorative art and marine enterprises, from where intrepid and enterprising sailors crossed over not only to Java and other islands of the Indian Archipelago but to South Africa and other far-off regions with the earliest torch of Indian civilization.

It was in 1906 that I had the pleasure of an interview with the Chief of Mayūrabhañja, and was struck with the earnestness and the spirit of devotion with which he espoused the cause of antiquarian researches in Orissa. I was told that he had already commenced an archæological enquiry, under the auspices of which the work of exploration was being laboriously conducted within his jurisdiction. This was an important forward movement. Hitherto explorations and researches were confined mainly to the British territories and a vast tract of country under native chiefs and possessing unlimited resources of great historical interest lay absolutely untrodden by the antiquarian.

As I have said before, an opportunity was soon awaiting me for the satisfaction of my long cherished desires to explore Orissa. As the result of the interview I was placed by the Chief of Mayūrabhañja at the head of his Archæological

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Department in 1907, and have ever since been doing my level best to bring the undertaking to a successful issue. Sparing neither pains nor health I have toured in various parts of Mayūrabhañja and am now going to lay before the public the results of my patient toils and earnest endeavours.

The difficulties that I have had to encounter may be understood to some extent if the reader will bear in mind the fact that up till now no history of Mayūrabhañja, worth the name, has been published. The antiquity of this part of Orissa will be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by consulting the copper-plates that have of late been recovered as having been granted in days long gone by the ancient Rulers of the Bhañja line.* However valuable these plates may be in establishing the antiquity of this dynasty, they will be found to be of little value in enabling one to trace out a clear and connected history of the country as they refer to widely divergent times and incidents. For an attempt in this direction it will therefore be deemed necessary to make a preliminary investigation for recovering as many of the old relics as possible of the places where these Rulers must have played some part or other in shaping the history of the country and the people. In the course of a conference with the Mahārāja I was once shown the following portion of Mr. Sterling's account concerning the agreement that was entered into by the local Chiefs with Rājā Mānsiṁha when the Moghul power was at its zenith. This gives us an approximate idea of the extent of the Mayūrabhañja territories, besides furnishing us with the names of the states that were tributary to it :—

* *Vide* appendix—(Plates No. 79—96).

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"Under the Zeminder of Moherbenj twelve zemindaries containing for two Killahs.

His own Estate, one *Zemindari* containing eighteen Killahs, *viz.* Bhanjabhum, Mantri, Hariharpur, Dewalia, Purnia, Karkachua, Bamanghatti, Sirhonda, and small insignificant forts, ten Dependent Chiefs, eleven Zemindaries having twenty-four Killas *viz.*—

ZEMINDAR.		KILLAS.	REMARKS.
Nilgiri ...	1	10	One of the Cuttack Tributary Mahals.
Sinhbhum	1	1	Now an independent Estate.
Barabhum ...	1	1	
Patharhai			
Narsinhpur ...	1	4	One of the Jungle estates in the Midnapur District.
Deba			
Tyrchand } Jamcunda } ...			In Cuttack at the mouth of the Subanrekha.
Chargerh ...		2	Ditto.
Talmunda		...	One of the Cuttack Killahs.
Jamrapal ...			Ditto."†

From the account quoted above we come to learn that a time was when the sway of the Bhañja Rājās extended up to Midnapur in the north, to the boundary line of Keonjhar in the south drained by the river Vaitarani, and to Singbhum in the west, besides being well

† *Vide* Asiatic Researches, 1825, Vol. XV, p. 233.

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established in various parts of Balasore in the east. It has, moreover, been thoroughly established by the copper-plates that have been brought to light in Baud and Gumsur that in these two territories also the influence of this dynasty was at one time predominent. Under these circumstances it is absolutely necessary to explore these places if an authentic history of the Bhañja Rājās has to be written.

In the present volume—the first part of the Report—we confine ourselves to bringing to the notice of the public what we have been able to glean from an archæological survey of Mayūrabhañja proper and adjacent places under the noble guide and patronage of the Chief who spares neither pains nor money in the cause. The accounts, contained in this, cover the results obtained in the year 1907-09. It consists of brief reports about various places in the area defined above, which are exceptionally rich in the possession of interesting and important materials of history, together with an introduction wherein I have tried to trace the rise of the various religious sects that flourished in the land at different ages and especially the account of modern Buddhism with its followers in Orissa. And these have also been supplemented by accounts of the images of the various gods and goddesses, temples, mounds and debris that I have come accross in the country with descriptive notices of them quoted from ancient Sanskrit works of authority. An appendix has also been added containing a summary of the contents of the copper-plate inscriptions collected by the Archæological Department during the years 1907-09, chiefly through the uncommon interest and co-operation of the Chief. The book has

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also been enriched by facsimiles of the original grants and other inscriptions with their readings.

The photos from which half-tone blocks were prepared for the book had generally to be taken under great disadvantage. Many of the figures inside the temples were found fixed on the walls : nay in some cases the pedestals themselves formed part of the masonry work of ground floor. And in some cases, as in the temple of Mārichī at Ayodhyā, the huge figures could scarcely be photographed in the scanty light that glimmered through the narrow apertures of the temple.

It was our intention to give a history of the Kusumba Kṣatriyas and of the Bhañja Rājās in the third part of the introduction. But as our researches on those points have not been yet complete, we reserve a full treatment of the subjects for a future part of the Report.

Descriptions of the wonderful figures found at Khiching have been reserved for the second part. The superior workmanship of these have indeed been a startling discovery for us. The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of the poet and artist. The smiles are indicated by carvings on lip of hard stone and look as fresh and soft as newly blown buds. No detail is omitted and the smiles illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painter's Madona. There is indeed a trace of the Northern influence in the whole, but it has given an additional strength to the Utkal sculptor's hand who did not borrow but assimilate the elements that came in his way. Of these figures more will be said in their proper place hereafter.

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Mayūrabbañja hitherto interested the geologist and the mineralogist only, although it promises an even richer field to the archæologist and historian. The picturesque land bears its silent history of ages on its temples and images. Its record of archæological glory has to be discovered from amongst the vast ruins overspreading it, some of which have long ceased even to see light and would have to be brought out again by excavators. The materials already found have far exceeded our expectations and yet, not even ⅛ part of the country has been trodden by the feet of the explorer.

In conclusion, I have to offer my sincere thanks to Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Çāstri M.A. and to Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen B.A. for helping me occasionally with valuable suggestions and kind advice in the compilation of the present work.

20 Kantapukur Lane.
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Dated, the 1st January, 1911.

Nagendranāth Vasu.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

(*a*) The influence of the Sauras, (*b*) of the Caivas, (*c*) of the Vaisnavas, (*d*) of the Jainas, (*e*) of the Buddhists; (*f*) Hindu Tantrika influence, (*g*) Mahayana and Bauddha Tantrika influence.

From what we have observed in different parts of Mayūrabhañja and adjacent places, we are of opinion that a systematic history cannot be written for want of reliable records and contemporary inscriptions. The country is, nevertheless, a mine of ancient remains; people often come upon sculptured stones and statues, which are sometimes of remarkable beauty, underneath the earth, in ruined temples and deserted jungles. Some idea of the influence which various religious sects exerted here may be gleaned from a study of these figures, temples, mounds or brick *debris*. The place is one of the most promising sites for excavation. In almost all the ancient parts statues attesting to the former ascendency of the important Indian religions are now frequently discovered. Higher class people do not seem to have evinced any interest in preserving these figures. They are now reckoned as Grāma-devatās or "village gods" and worshipped by the low-class people with offerings of flowers, fruits, milk, &c. The attention of antiquarians has not hitherto been drawn to the fact that interesting and important material for the study of comparative religion can be gathered from the history of these neglected images of gods and

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goddesses. It was only recently that M. Foucher, a French *Savant*, in his work on Buddhist Iconography drew public attention to this important point. But we can scarcely expect any great results in this direction from merely the elaboration of Buddhist Iconography. To acquire a thorough knowledge of the history of the different religions of this country, it is necessary to bring to light the materials lying scattered all over India and then study the Iconography of each sect. It is high time that an attempt should be made in this direction. The long-forgotten figures of different deities, found in various places, are so to speak the only surviving witnesses of the various stages of the religious history of the country in the far-back past.

THE SAURA OR THE EARLY SCYTHIC INFLUENCE.

It is now admitted by scholars that the Magas or Scythic Brāhmaṇas were the first to introduce the worship of the image of the Sun into India. In addition to Sun-worship, they cultivated the study of Astrology and Medicine. Now the question arises: when did these Brāhmaṇas migrate to India and spread themselves over its various provinces? The Greek ambassador Megasthenes, when at the court of Pāṭaliputra, observed in that part of the province the worship of the image of the Sun. References to these Maga Brāhmaṇas are to be found in ancient Pāli literature, and from this source we learn that they were powerful at the time of the Buddha. In the well-known Pāli work, Bambhajāla Sutta, we find Lord Buddha speaking in disparaging terms of this class of Brāhmaṇa astrologers.

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From these authorities we are naturally led to conclude that the Scythic Brāhmaṇas came and settled in Eastern India long before the time of the Buddha.[1]

From a study of the Bhaviṣya, Varāha, and Çāmba Purāṇas, we learn that after the great battle of Kurukṣetra, Çāmba, one of the several sons of Çrī Kṛṣṇa, was attacked with leprosy, that he got rid of this loathsome disease by worshipping Mitra the Sun-god, and that some Brāhmaṇas came from Çākadvīpa (Scythia) to do pūjā to that deity. We learn further from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that the Saura Brāhmaṇas of Çākadvīpa were at first known as Magas, but were afterwards divided into three classes according to their different modes of worship and religious faiths. They were subsequently known as Magas, Somakas and Bhojakas. Those, who were fire-worshippers and followed the religious teachings of Zarathustra, were known as Magas. Those who traced their origin from Soma were known as Somakas or Dvijas, while others who worshipped the Sun-god and professed to be descended from the Sun were designated Bhojakas.[2] Though the Scythian Brāhmaṇas thus came to be divided into three classes, in ancient India they were commonly known as Magas or Bhojakas. The circumstances under which these people migrated to this country have been described in several ancient works.[3]

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[1] For particulars, *vide* Bangera Jātiya Itihāsa, Part IV, pp. 56—59.

[2] "अग्निजात्या मगाः प्रोक्ता. सोमजात्या द्विजातयः ।
भोजका आदित्यजात्या दिव्यास्ते परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥"
(भविष्यपुराण, ब्राह्मपर्व्व, १३९ अः)

[3] *Vide* Bhavisya Purâna, Brâhmaparvan, Ch 139-141 ; Câmba Purâna, Ch. 7-10 ; Govindapur Inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 333, and Maga-vyakti by Krisnadâsa.

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Bhavisya Purāṇa relates that Zarathustra who acknowledged the superiority of fire, was born of that element. He also used to interpret the Veda in a perverted way which led to a quarrel between him and the Magas who worshipped Mitra, the Sun-god. We also learn that Zarathustra never admitted the superiority of the Sun. In the Zand Avesta, the oldest record of the fire-worshippers, Mitra is known as only one of the minor gods. But on the other hand in Mihir Yast, we find a faint reference to the effect that at one time Mitra (Mithra in the Avesta) was worshipped as the highest god. Be that as it may, on a dispute arising between the followers of the Mitra cult and the Fire-worshippers, those of the Çākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas who belonged to the former sect, migrated to India with their families. Although there is a difference of opinion as to the time when Zarathustra flourished, we may rely on the opinion of Berosus, the distinguished historian of Babylon, that the dynasty of Zarathustra[1] reigned between 2200 and 2000 B. C., and that Spitama Zarathustra, the founder of Mazdaism, lived before that time, *i.e.*, more than 4100 years before the present era.[2] On the other hand, if we are to accept the views of the great Indian astronomer Varāha Mihira and that of Kalhana, the author of Rājataraṅgiṇī we find that the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas

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[1] *Zarathustra.*—In different manuscripts of Bhavisya Purāṇa that we have come across, various readings have been found of this name—*e.g.*, जरथस्त्र, जरगस्त्र, जलस्थल, &c. They are evidently corruptions of the name Zarathustra as found in the Avesta. We have therefore adapted जरथस्त्र (Zarathustra) the reading of the older MSS. of Bhavisya Purāṇa (Viçvakosa-office collection) as it approaches nearest to the name found in the Avesta.

[2] See Haug's Essays on Parsis, p. 298.

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flourished at the time when 653 years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, *i.e.*, about 4357 years back. We find in the Bhaviṣya and other Purāṇas, as we have already stated, that Çāmba appointed Brāhmaṇas of Çākadvīpa to offer pūjās to Mitra after the Kurukṣetra war was over. Considering the above facts mentioned in the history of the two places, it appears that Çāmba brought the Maga Brāhmaṇas to India at the time when Zarathustra was flourishing. So it will not be very far from the truth if we say that the Maga or the Brāhmaṇas of Çākadvīpa established themselves in this country more than 4000 years ago.

The figure of the Sun-god under the name of Mitra was for the first time set up by the Maga Brahmaṇas for pūja at a place called Mūlaçāmbapura which is identical with the modern Multan. The place derived its name from that of the prince Çāmba.[1] Magas or Saura Brāhmaṇas first settled in Çāmbapur.[2] We find in the Varāha

[1] Many portion of the Bhavisya Purāna are no doubt of recent composition: but the work as a whole cannot be rejected as unauthentic. On the other hand, we are inclined to hold that generally speaking it is the oldest book in which the interpolators find it to their advantage to make elaborate addition for giving them an authentic character. The Brāhmaparvan which forms the first part of the Bhavisya Purāna is evidently very old. Even such an ancient book as Dharmasutra of A'pastamba quotes çlokas from the Bhavisya Purāna. The Nāradiya Purāna (Chap. 100) gives a synopsis of this Brāhmaparvan and the Varāha Purana makes on important reference to this portion of the Bhavisya Purāna, while dealing with the Sun-god and his worshipper. (Chap. 177). The great astronomer Varāha Mihir quotes a passage (138.6) from it in his Brihat Samhita (60,19). In this passage there is a mention of the following religious sects which flourished in ancient India :—Bhāgavatas, Magas or Sauras, ash-besmeared Caivas, Mātrikā worshippers, white-clothed Jainas and the red-clothed Buddhist Cramanas. Under the circumstances we suppose that the Bhavisya Purāna was compiled not later than the 2nd century B. C. For particulars see "Banger Jātiya Itihāsa" or the History of the different Sub-castes of Bengal, Part IV (Çākadvipi Brāhmana Vivarana), pp. 38-90.

[2] The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chuang) saw a golden image of the Sun when he came to Mûla-Sâmbapura or Multan.—*Vide* Journal Asiatique (Paris) 1881, Tome X, p. 70.

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Purāṇa and Çāmba Purāṇa that they had spread so far as Mathurā and even to Koṇārka on the Orissa coast. Magadha seems to have derived its name from these Maga Brāhmaṇas.

It is stated in the Riyazu-s-Salaṭin :—"In the time of Rāi Mahārāj[1] a person coming from Persia perverted the people of Hindustān to Sun-worship.......In the time of Rai Suraj a Brāhman, coming from the mountains of Jhārkhand entered his service and taught the Hindus idol-worship and preached that everyone preparing a gold or silver or stone image of his father and grandfather, should devote himself to its worship, and this practice became more common than other practices. And at the present day in the religious practice of Hindus the worship of idols and of the Sun and of Fire is very common. Some say that fire-worship was introduced by Ibrahim Zardasht.* * * After this, Shangaldīp emerging from the environs of Koch, became victorious over Kidār and founded the city of Gaur."[2]

In Ferishta, the following accounts of Shangal appears :—

"Shangal towards the close of the reign of Rājā Kidār Brāhman, emerging from the environs of Koch won a victory over Kidār and founded the city of Gaur. Shangal mobilized a force of four thousand elephants, one lak cavalry and five lak infantry and stopped paying tribute to Afrasiab, the king of Turan or Scythia. Becoming enraged, Afrasiab deputed his Generalissimo Pirān

Sir Alexander Cunningham writes :—" The Sun was the chief deity of Multan, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed. "—*Vide* Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. II p. 34.

[1] Rāi Bahdāj (Bharadvāja) of Ferishta.

[2] Riyaz, translated by Maulavi Abdus Salam, pp. 53-54.

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Vīsah with fifty thousand cavalry to chastise Shangal."[1]

The historians of Persia say that Afrasiab, a Scythian king, conquered Persia, killed Nazar with his own hand and reigned there for about twelve years about seven centuries before the Christian era.[2]

The account given by the writers of Riyaz and Ferishta, based, as it is, on the most ancient materials, cannot be lightly treated. From the evidence found in the passages quoted above, we are led to think that the Scythian rule existed in Bengal seven hundred years before the birth of Christ. We infer that the names *Shangal* and *Shangaldip* are nothing but corruptions of the Çākala (शाकल) and Çākalādhīpa (शाकलाधिप), *i. e.*, the Scythians and the kings of the Scythians. These names do not refer to any individual persons. We come to learn from the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, that the Scythians had obtained a stronghold in the Panjāb long before his time, and some of them were appointed Satraps under that Persian monarch. It appears that the Scythians were powerful in the Panjab six or seven centuries before Christ. When Alexander the Great came to this country, he found them predominant everywhere in the Panjab.[3] Their ascendency spread in a similar way over the eastern part of India in the 7th or 8th century before Christ. Many are of opinion that the royal family of Çākya-race to which

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[1] Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 223 quoted by M. Abdus Salam in his Riyāz.

[2] *Vide* Riyaz, translated by Maulavi Abdus Salam. (As. Society Edn., p. 54 *note.*)

[3] *Vide* Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report, Vol. II, pp. 6-40.

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Gautama Buddha belonged was but a branch of the Çākas or Scythians.[1]

Bharata Mallika, the commentator of Amarakoṣa, quotes the following verse about the derivation of the word Çākya :—

"शाकवृक्षप्रतिच्छन्नं वासं यस्मात् प्रचक्रिरे ।
तस्मादिक्ष्वाकुवंश्यास्ते भुवि शाक्या इति स्मृताः ॥"

"These men of the Ikṣāku family came to be known by the name of Çākyas from the fact that they lived under the cover of the Çāka tree."

We meet with a similar passage in the Mahābhārata :—

"जम्बुद्वीपेन संख्यातस्तस्य मध्ये महाद्रुमः ।
शाको नाम महाराज प्रजा तस्य सदानुगा ॥"

(Bhiṣma Parvan, Ch. II.)

"In that island (Scythia) similar size to that of Jambūdvīpa, there is a tree known as Çāka, great king ! The subjects are always attached to that tree."

From the above quotation, it was believed that both the Çāka (Scythian) and Çākya race originated from the same source.

In Ferishta, we find mention of the name of Rāi Bahadāj as one of the earliest kings of Gauḍa, and infer that the author speaks of no other person than Aŋgīrasa Bharadvāja. From the inscriptions of the Maga-poet Gaŋgādhara of Bharādvāja clan,we find that even so late as the 12th century A. D. the Āngirasa Bhāradvājas were held in great respect at the royal court of Magadha.[2]

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[1] See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1892, part I, p. 143.

[2] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 333.

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In the Madhya Rāḍha (Modern Burdwan) where the Rāḍhīya section of the Āŋgīrasa Brāhmaṇas once lived in large numbers, there is a village called Āŋgīrasī, and the Āŋgīrasa Brāhmaṇas of this village are held in the great respect among the Çākadvīpī Āchāryyas of Bengal.[1] In all likelihood these Brāhmaṇas extended their influence in Eastern India before the 8th century B.C. After them another branch of a section of the Scythians, locally known as the Kidārs, came and established their influence in Eastern India. In the 7th century B.C. the Scythian king of Persia came to India and defeated these Kidārs. The name Kidār bears an affinity with the branch of Scythians and suggests a connection between the two people.[2] The Kidār Brāhmaṇas had established their rule in the eastern part of India more than 2500 years ago and were defeated by the Scythian Kṣatriyas.[3] Two Sanskrit Kārikās in verse have recently been recovered from these Aŋgirasa Brāhmaṇas of Çākadvīpa belonging to the Rāḍhīya sub-section. From one of these we learn that those Brāhmaṇas who claimed their descent from the Sun came to live at Gauḍa about 3000 years ago. The other Kārikā mentions that another branch of these Brāhmaṇas came from Madhya-deça or Mid India and settled in Rāḍha more than two thousand years ago.

Scythic Brāhmaṇas in Mayurabhanja.

In all probability these Āŋgirasa Bharadvāja Brāhmaṇas sought refuge in the Jhārkhaṇḍ or jungle tracts of Mayūrabhañja when they were deprived of their kingdom by the Kidars who had entered India

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[1] *Vide* Bangera Jâtiya Itihâsa, Part IV, p. 114 *note*.

[2] See Rapson's Indian Coins (in Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie, Vol. II, p. 36.)

[3] For Scythian Ksatriyas, see J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. LXXI, part I, p. 142.

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through China. Some of these immigrants were invited by a king of Gauḍa to attend his Court where they introduced image-worship for the first time. It is held by many now-a-days that image-worship was introduced by these Scythians throughout Asia in very ancient times. It was by the inhabitants of Jhārkhaṇḍ that idol-worship was first brought into Eastern India, so when speaking of the Saura influence we have at the very outset to refer to Jhārkhaṇḍ as the place which played an important part in its history.

The influence of the Saura Brāhmaṇas in Jhārkhaṇḍ is even now as strong as ever. Though no longer claiming to be designated as Çākadvīpīs or Scythians, they live entirely separate from the great bulk of the Indian Brāhmaṇa population. In modern times they call themselves Āŋgirasas, and worship the Sun under the name of Nṛsiṁha or Raghunātha. They live in various parts of Mayūrabhañja such as Kanṭhipur, Baisiŋgā, Māngovindapur, Daisarā, Kuchiakoil, Ambikādipur, Ichhāpur Çāsan, Dāmodarpur-Çāsan, Gajāri-Çāsan, &c.[1]

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[1] I have heard from these Āngirasas that many of them still live in the villages of Aladā and Mākanda in the Parganā Kundi, in Asimālā Cāsan in the Pargana Soró in the District of Balasor, and in the village Koṇārak in the District of Puri. They are generally known as Atharvavedi Brāhmaṇas, but from Bhavisya Purāṇa we can see that the Āngirasas are no other than the Magas themselves :—

"ऋग्वेदोऽथ यजुर्वेदः सामवेदस्तथर्व्वणः ।
ब्राह्मणोक्ता स्तथा वेदा मगानामपि सुव्रताः ॥
त एव विपरीतास्तु तेषां वेदाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
विदो विश्वदश्चैव विदाद्याङ्गिरसस्तथा ॥
वेदो ह्येते मगानान्तु पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।" (भविष्यपु: १४० अ:)

Of these four Vedas only Āngirasa is now-a-days accepted by the Saura Brāhmaṇas and their daily duties are performed according to the rules laid down in it. For this reason these Brāhmaṇas are known as

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These Āṅgirasas have their own manners and customs which distinguish them from other Brāhmaṇas. Though their male members have lost much of their original ruddiness and lustre owing to hard labour and the heat of the sun, the charming and attractive beauty of their female sex recalls the good looks, bright golden colour and simple habits of the Scythian women of Central Asia.

Their manners and customs still resemble those of the primitive Maga Brāhmaṇas who worshipped Mitra or the Sun.[1] From very ancient times these Scythian Brāhmaṇas were distinguished for their proficiency in Astrology and Medical Science. These two Sciences still form their principal professions. Many of the Āṅgirasas are reputed to be good astrologers and physicians. It is said of these people that after they had settled in Jhārkhaṇḍa (modern Mayūrabhañja), some of them migrated to Sūryapur in the district of Balasor and others to Konāraka on the sea-coast. The thriving village Soro in Balasor District was formerly known as Saurapur or Sūryapur. Evidence is not wanting to prove

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Āngirasas and their Code of rituals is known as Āngirasakalpa. From Bhavisya we also learn that all the good fruits which the followers of Rik, Sama and Yajus derive from studying their respective Vedas, are enjoyed by the Atharvans and Atharvangirasas from worshipping the Sun-god alone :—

"ऋग्वेदस्य समस्तस्य यच्छति यत्फलं ध्रुवम् ।
सामवेदफलं साम यजुर्वेदफलं यजुः ॥
अथर्व्वाथर्व्वाङ्गिरसो निखिलं यच्छते रविः ।"

(Bhavisya Brahma; Ch. 106, Cl. 10).

[1] A full description of the Scythic Brāhmanas will be found in the 4th part of my work entitled वङ्गेर जातीय इतिहास or a History of the various Subcastes of Bengal.

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the great influence once wielded by the Saura Brāhmaṇas in the village of Soro. From the inscriptions engraved on the stone pedestal of the Saptakumarikā discovered in the village Ghorā-Shāhi near Soro, we find that even in the 15th century A. D. a temple was dedicated to the Sun and that Sun-worship existed in that part of the country even to that late period.[1] The Āŋgirasa Brāhmaṇas are the priests of the temple of Konārak dedicated to the Sun, which has a world-wide celebrity on account of its architectural excellence. The famous temple of Konārak was built in the 12th century A. D. The place had long before that time become well-known as a chief centre of the Sauras. The Saura Brāhmaṇas of this place are spoken of very highly even in the ancient books, the Brāhma and the Çāmba Purāṇas.

The Āŋgirasas of Mayūrabhañja secretly observe the original customs of the Sauras even up to the present day. Reading the Vedas (sacred books) after investiture with the sacred thread, marriage after the study of Vedas, or

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[1] This statue (Fig. 3) was found in a tank in the village of Ghorā Shāhi, within the Zamindari of Rājā Bāhādur Baikuntha Nath De of Balasor. It was removed to Balasor by the Raja Bahadur and preserved in his own palace-garden. Ancient Uriya inscriptions are engraved upon it. The first line is illegible. From the second line the inscription is legible, though all the letters on both sides cannot be read. It runs thus :—

Line 2. ... वेसरे तुलाह मूर्सपूलोवाकु' लोकारि मरवाजित मायर्ककर घेठटा म

L. 3. ... एब्ल श्रीगरवाणोसमो देवोक्तमखएकर्‌ वोक्षाठरे तुवान्तवासमते

L. 4. ... यो घोडमाडो पामर मधोम्राठो तुडोरो डर ग † त सोमावडोत लोखप म

L. 5. ... नै सव

keeping the *avyanga* (Aiwyaonhanem in the Zend Avesta) or the sacred thread on the body always, *tri-savanam*, worshipping the Sun five times during the day and night, refraining from abusing Devas, Brāhmaṇas and Vedas, setting up and reverencing images of all gods as different forms of the Sun-god and refraining from taking food in a Çūdra's house—these are their Çāstric ordinances to which each Āŋgirasa has to conform.[1] It is remarkable that these very customs existed among the ancient fire-worshippers who followed the doctrines of Zarathustra. The only difference between them and the Magas of India was that the former were *Ahura* (*Asura*)-*worshippers* and the latter *Deva-worshippers*.[2] Other observances followed by these Brāhmaṇas are described in the Āŋgirasa Kalpa and the Bhaviṣya Brāhmaparvan. These very customs are also found described in the Avesta, the ancient scripture of the Persian Magas.[3] On account of their peculiar customs these Brāhmaṇas have remained distinct and separate from the great mass of the Indian Brāhmaṇa community from the very earliest times. Other

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[1] "वेदाधिगमनं पूर्वं दारसंग्रहणं तथा ॥
अव्यङ्गधारणं नित्यं तथा त्रिसवनं स्मृतम् ।
पञ्चकृत्वः सदा पूज्यो ह्यर्कः रात्रौ दिने तथा ॥
देवब्राह्मणवेदानां निन्दा कार्या न ते क्वचित् ।
मान्यदेव प्रतिष्ठा तु कार्या वै भोजकेन तु ॥
न भुञ्जीत गृहं गत्वा शूद्रस्य गरुडाग्रज ।"

Bhavisya Brāhma Parvan, Ch. 117.

[2] Haug's Essays on the Parsis, pp. 281-7.

[3] See Bangem Jātiya Itihāsa, Vol. II, Pt. IV, pp. 35-36.

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Brāhmaṇas would not even partake of food prepared by them.[1]

That image-worship was first introduced by these Maga Brāhmaṇas is proved by the fact that it was these men who had the full control at the making of images in olden times. Even now in backward parts of Bengal their descendants give the finishing touches to the colouring,—a function which the image-makers religiously reserve for them. It is also these Brāhmaṇas who do the paintings on the background. These duties which devolve upon them as a piece of religious work indicate their early connection with image-worship.

There is a great similarity between Mazdaism and the Mitra or Sun-worship. It would, however, be incorrect to infer from this that the latter was derived from the former. It is admitted by oriental scholars that the Mitra-cult was prevalent in Central Asia (or Çāka-Dvīpa) long before Mazdaism was promulgated. It would, therefore, be more reasonable to suppose that Mazdaism was derived from the Mitra-cult. In his translation of the Gāthā portion of the Zend Avesta, Mr. Mill writes :—

"As the Mithra-worship undoubtedly existed previously to the *Gâthic* period and fell into neglect at the *Gâthic* period, it might be said that the greatly later inscriptions represent Mazda-worship as it existed among the ancestors of Zarathustrians in a pre-Gâthic age or even Vedic age."[2]

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[1] "य एते भोजकाः प्रोक्ता देवदेवस्य पूजकाः ।
नान्नं भोज्यमथैतेषां ब्राह्मणेन कदाचन ।"

Bhavisya Brāhmap. Ch. 117.

"Brāhmaṇas should never take the food of those who are known as Bhojakas, and who worship the Sun, the god of gods."

[2] Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXI. p. xxx.

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Traces of the ancient Mitra-cult are still to be found at Ayodhyā, Purāṇagāo, Kānisāhi, and Ḍomagaṇḍarā in Nilgiri State (Mayūrabhañja border) and also at Ādipur and Kiching in the Pānchpīr Subdivision of Mayūrabhañja State. Among the statues discovered in the ruins of these places, are figures of Mitra in two different postures, one sitting and the other representing him standing on seven horses. These are of great interest and deserve special mention.

The following description of the Mitra or Sun-god is given in the work called Viçvakarma Çilpa:— Mitra.

"[His] great chariot has one wheel and is drawn by seven horses; He has a lotus in each of his hands, wears an armour and has a shield over his breast, has beautiful straight hair, is surrounded by a halo of light, has (good) hair and apparel, is decorated with gold (ornaments) and jewels, has on his right side the figure of Nikṣubhā and on the left that of his Rājñī (queen) with all sorts of ornaments and whose hair and necklace are bright. His chariot mentioned above is called by the name of Makaradhvaja. He wears a crown. The figure is surrounded by a halo. Daṇḍa (Yama) is represented as one faced and Skanda as having a bright conch-shell. These two figures with the form of man are placed in front. Vārcha on a lotus is placed on a horse. His body is represented as lustrous and he is the one giver of light to all the worlds. A *Suryamandala* is to be made by placing nutmeg and vermillion. He (Mitra) has four hands or only two with jewels adorning them. In both of his hands there are lotuses. He is seated on a chariot drawn by horses of variegated

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2. Súryya-deva *from Ayodhyá.*

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8. Saptamâtrikâ *from Soro.*

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colour. His two gate-keepers Daṇḍa (Yama) and Piṅgala (Agni) have swords in their hands."[1]

The statues found at Ayodhyā and Purāṇagāo correspond in a very considerable degree to the description given above. This statue has been found broken in some places; of the other figures mentioned we find only those of Daṇḍa Nāyaka, and Piṅgala (the two attendants) and the charioteer. (Fig. 2). The recently discovered statue at Konārak closely follows the lines of the above account.[2]

According to the Bhaviṣya and the Çāmba Purāṇas, the Çakadvīpī Brāhmaṇas came to India with the object of worshipping the image of Mitra.

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[1] "एकचक्रं ससप्ताश्वं ससारथिं महारथम् ।
हस्तद्वयं पद्मधरं कञ्चुकच्छन्नवक्षसम् ॥
आकुञ्चितसुकेशन्तु प्रभामण्डलमण्डितम् ।
केयूरैश्च समायुक्तं स्वर्णरत्नविभूषितम् ।
निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥
सर्वाभरणसंयुक्ता केयूरहारसमुज्ज्वला ।
एवमुक्तरथस्थस्य मकरध्वज इष्यते ॥
मुकुटञ्चापि दातव्यमनन्तं सर्व्वं समण्डलम् ।
एकवक्त्राङ्कितौ दण्डौ स्कन्द स्तेजौ कराम्बुजम् ॥
कृत्वा तु स्थापयेत् पूर्व्वं पुरुषाकृतरूपिणौ ।
द्वयादद्स्तु कुर्व्वीत दक्षस्य वाचमामकम् ॥
स दिव्यमानवपुषं सर्व्वलोकैकदीपकम् ।
नातिदिह्रल्यहंस्थाप्य कारयेत् सूर्य्यमण्डलम् ॥
चतुर्बाहुर्द्विहस्तो वा रेखामपिविभाजना ।
सिन्दूरस्य वर्णोऽस्य प्रबलाम्बरधस्थित: ।
दण्डश्च पिङ्गलश्चैव द्वारपालौ च खड्गिनौ ।"

(Viçvakarma Cilpa MS. p. 30b-31a.—Compare also Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brāhmaparvan, Ch.124-132.)

[2] Annual Reports of the Archæological Survey of India (1903-04), p. 438, Plate XXII.

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It has already been mentioned that the influence of the Saura Brāhmaṇas in Jhārkhaṇḍ or Mayūrabhañja dates from a very remote period. The results of their past achievements are now lying deeply buried under the earth in the midst of forests and hills. Besides the figures of Mitra found at Ayodhyā, Kānisāhi, Ḍomagaṇḍarā and Khiching the following are also worthy of note :—

(1) The representation in stone of a Sūrya-maṇḍala found in the temple of Kakhāruā Vaidya-nātha at Māntri, Mayūrabhañja.

(2) The ruins of the temple of the Sun at the village of Soro (District Balasor).

(3) The figures of different goddesses locally called Sātabahini or seven sisters (Saptamātrikās) found in the above-mentioned village. Now preserved at the Balasor Rājabāti. (Fig. 3).

The Saura Brāhmaṇas also worshipped the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheçvara, the Mātrikās, and of Nikṣubhā and Rājñī, the consorts of Sūrya, the two Açvinas, Agni (Piŋgala) and Daṇḍanāyaka (Yama) attendants on Sūrya, Mahā-çvetā, Skanda, Vināyaka and Kuvera. Thus we find it enjoined in the Bhaviṣya Brāhma-parvan[1] that the temple of the Sun-god should also have a place reserved in it for the images of these gods and goddesses.

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1 'भवनाद्दक्षिणे पार्श्वे रवेः स्नानगृहं भवेत् ॥ ४८
अग्निहोत्रगृहं कार्यं रवेरुत्तरतः शुभम् ।
उदङ्मुखं भवेच्छम्भो मातृणां गृहमेव च ॥ ४९
ब्रह्मा पश्चिमतः स्थाप्यो विष्णुरुत्तरतस्तथा ।
निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्तिता ॥ ५०

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We also find in the Lalita-Vistara that the figures of Çiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Chandra, Sūrya, Vaiçravaṇa, Çakra, Brahmā and the Lokapālas were shown to the infant Siddhārtha.[1] Hence it may be presumed that the worship of these gods in the form of images existed in India before the time of the Buddha. It devolved upon the Çākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas to perform the worship of all such images. It was for this reason that they have all along been looked down upon as "*Devala*" Brāhmaṇas.[2] In times gone by these Brāhmaṇas were considered to be the only persons entitled to conduct the worship of the figures of Sūrya.[3]

Agni.

Though the most ancient scriptures of the Hindus point to the fact that the Indo-Aryans had been worshipping Agni (fire) from a remote period of history, yet it is nowhere recorded in

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पिङ्गलो दक्षिणे भानोर्वामतो दण्डनायकः ।
श्रीक्षुभाश्वेतायाः स्थानं पुरतस्तु प्रमालिनः ॥ ५१
ततः स्थाप्याश्विनौ स्थाने पूर्व्वद्वारगृहाद्बहिः ।
द्वितीयायां तु कक्षायां राज्ञश्रौषौ व्यवस्थितौ ॥ ५२
तृतीयायां तु कक्षायां स्थितौ कल्माषपक्षिणौ ।
जम्बुकालचरौ स्थाप्यौ दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रितौ ॥ ५३
उदीच्यां स्थापनीयस्तु कुबेरो लोकपूजितः ।
उत्तरेण ततस्तस्य रैवन्तः स विनायकः ॥ ५४
यत्र वा विद्यते स्थानं दिक्षु सर्व्वा गृहादयः ।
हे मण्डलेऽर्घ्यदानार्थं कार्य्यं सव्यापसव्यतः ॥" ५५

Bhavisya Brāhmap, Chap. 130.

1 "शिवस्कन्दनारायणकुवेरचन्द्रसूर्य्यवैश्रवणशक्रब्रह्मलोकपालप्रभृतयः प्रतिमा कुर्व्वाः ; तेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः स्थानेभ्यो व्युत्थाय बोधिसत्त्वस्य क्रमतलयो र्निपतन्ति ।"

Lalita-Vistara (Sec. 36), p. 137.

2 *Vide* Bribaddbarmapurāna, Uttarakbanda., Chap. 9.

3 "अधिपा भोजकाः सर्व्वे नान्ये विप्रादयो नृप ।"

Bhavisya Brāmaparvan, Ch, 117.

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them that Agni was worshipped in the form of any image. Such worship was probably introduced by the Maga Brāhmaṇas. We learn from the Bhaviṣya Brāhmaparvan, the chief authority of the Çākadvīpīs, that images of Agni used to be set up in the temples of Sūrya. The Sauras believed Agni not only to be an attendant on Sūrya, but also as the recorder of the good and evil acts of men.[1] Images of Agni have been found at Ayodhyā and Ḍoma-gaṇḍarā in Nilgiri. The following descriptions of Agni are given in Viçvakarma-çilpa (chap. 7) :—

"He has a flag in his hand ; he is very powerful ; his eyes are red and his colour is that of smoke. He is surrounded by flames, is bright and has a halo of lustre. He is riding on a sheep, is placed in a Kuṇḍa and is surrounded by Yogapaṭṭa. On his right side there is Svāhā. He wears ear-rings made of jewels, he is beneficent in all yajñas (sacrifices), is holy and is decorated with ornaments of a grey colour.[2]

The above description exactly corresponds with the image found at Ḍoma-gaṇḍarā (Fig. 4).

Yama.

Like Agni Yama[3] is also regarded as an attendant on Sūrya. Both the Vedic and the Avestic

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1 "लिखते यः प्रजानाञ्च सुकृतं यच्च दुष्कृतम् ।
धर्मेदक्षिणपार्श्वे तु पिङ्गलत्वात् स पिङ्गलः ॥"

² "Agni, who writes the good and evil deeds of men, stands on the right side (of Surya) and is called Pingala on account of his colour." (Bhavishya Brāhmaparvan, Chap. 124).

"ध्वजहस्तो महावीर्यो रक्ताक्षो धूम्रसन्निभः ।
ज्वालामालाकुलं दीप्तं भासा प्रभामण्डलम् ॥
मेषारूढं च कुण्डस्थं योगपट्टेन वेष्टितम् ।
दक्षिणे च स्थितं स्वाहा रत्नकुण्डलमण्डितम् ।
सर्वयागहितं पुण्यं पिङ्गभूषणभूषितम् ॥"

³ Yima Khshaêta of Zend Avesta.—See Haug's *Parsis*, p. 277.

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4. Agni *from Domagandara.*



10. Brahmâ *from Ayodhyâ.*



5. Yama *from Balasor.*

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6. Skanda *from Dhudhuá.*

15. Skanda-Sasthi *from Tundará.*

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Aryans used to worship him. He is known in the Purāṇas as the son of Sūrya and is worshipped with Indra and other Lokapālas. The following description of Yama is given in Viçvakarma-çilpa :—

"He has a club and a pāça in his hands; his eyes are like a bright fire; he is seated on a large buffalo; his colour is like that of dark-blue collyrium. On his two sides there are figures of youthful persons who resemble him, whose chests are well-developed, who are heavenly, and who are strongly built. He stands at the door, he seems to be angry and is dreadful to the whole creation, having blue eyes. On his left and right sides there are the goddesses Māra and Dharā who represent *Dharma* (virtue) and *Adharma* (vice). He is the controller of rulers and his emblem is buffalo."[1]

An image of Yamarāja found in Balasor tallies with the above description. (Fig. 5).

Skanda. Among the Sauras, Skanda was known as one of the attendants of Sūrya and called

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[1] "दण्डपाणिः पाशहस्तो दीप्ताग्निसमलोचनः ।
महामहिषमारूढो नीलाञ्जनचयोपमम् ॥
पार्श्वयोरात्मसदृशौ पुरुषौ युवरूपिभिः ।
पीनवक्षस्थलैर्दिव्यैः स्वभावे बलवत्तरैः ।
द्वारि समुत्थितः क्रुध्यन् सर्व्वलोकभयङ्करः ॥
नीललोचनसङ्काशैः द्वे च मारधरे स्त्रियौ ।
वामदक्षिणपार्श्वस्थे धर्माधर्मसमाह्वयौ ॥
शासिता च यमः प्रोक्तो महिषध्वजलाञ्छनः ।"

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"Srosh."[1] In the Zend Avesta he is known as "Sraoshâvareza"[2] or simply "Srosh".

He is described in the Avesta as holding a sword. The following is the description of him in the Bhavishya Brāhmaparvan :—

"स्कन्दः कुमाररूपः शक्तिधरो वर्हिकेतुश्च ।" (१३२।३१)

"Skanda has the form of a prince, holds a çakti in his hand and his emblem is peacock."

The worship of Skanda or Kārtikeya is to be traced from an ancient time in India. Mention is made, in the Lalita-Vistara, as we have seen, of the figure of Skanda. His worshippers went by the name of Kaumāra or Skānda. Temples dedicated to him existed in various parts of India. King Jayāditya of Kashmir saw a very large temple of Kārtikeya at Paundravardhana in the eighth century of the Christian era.[3] Kārtikeya is represented as having either two, four or six arms. In modern figures he is represented as riding on a peacock, but in very ancient times he was shown astride a cock. Very old image of the latter type has been discovered at Ḍhuḍhuā. (Fig. 6).

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1 "सुरसेनापतित्वेन स यस्माद्दीप्यते सदा ।
तस्मात् स कार्त्तिकेयस्तु नाम्ना राज इति स्मृतः ॥
स्रु गतौ च स्मृतो धातुर्व्यस्य स प्रत्ययः स्मृतः ।
गच्छतीति स्रुसस्मात् पर्यायात् स्रोष उच्यते ॥"

"As he shines as the commander of the army of the Devas, he is known as Kārtikeya. The root *sru* is used in the sense of going; to this is added the suffix *sa*. As he goes fast, he is known by the name *Srosa*." (Bhavisya Brāhamaparvan, Ch. 124, çl. 24).

2 "In the Sraoshâvareza, who represents the angel Srosh; holds in his hand a wooden sword to drive away the evil spirits." (Haug's *Parsis*, p. 280).

3 Rājatarangini, Chap. 4.

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9. Hara-Gauri *from Koisâri.*

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7. **Subrahmanya** ***from Manināgeçvara.***



9. **Ganeça** ***from Kānisāi.***



8. **Ganeça** ***from Manināgeçvara.***

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Subrahmanya.

Statues of Subrahmaṇya having as his emblem either a peacock or a cock, are found in various parts of Orissa. These are known by the people as images of Kārtikeya The following description of Subrahmaṇya is found in the Sāradātilaka Tantra:—

"We adore Subrahmaṇya, whose colour is red like vermilion, whose face is beautiful as a moon, who is decorated with *Keyúra*, necklace and other ornaments, who offers (to devotees) the happiness of heaven, who holds in his three hands a lotus, a çakti and a cock respectively and gives *abhaya* (protection from fear) with his fourth hand, whose body is painted with red colour, who wears a red cloth and who is about to destroy all objects of fear for those who bow down to him."[1]

An image of Subrahmaṇya of the above type has been found at Maṇināgeçvara. (Fig. 7).

Ganesa.

We find in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that Vināyaka used to be worshipped in the temple of Sūrya. Hence it is not unreasonable to infer that the worship of Vināyaka in the form of an image was also prevalent among the Saura Magas in very ancient times and afterwards adopted by the Hindus and Mahāyāna Buddhists alike. In Nepal, Buddhists as well as Hindus, even at the present day, invoke the god Vināyaka at the commencement of all work in order to attain

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[1] "सिन्दूरारुणकान्तिमिन्दुवदनं केयूरहारादिभि-
र्दिव्यैराभरणैर्विभूषिततनुं स्वर्गस्य सौख्यप्रदम् ।
अम्भोजाभयशक्तिकुक्कुटधरं रक्ताङ्गरागांशुकं
सुब्रह्मण्यमुपास्महे प्रणमतां भीतिप्रणाशोद्यतम् ॥"

(११श अध्याय)

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success. In the temples in Nepal, whether Buddhist or Hindu, in China, Japan, Mongolia and even in the Indian Archipelagos, we find the figure of Ganeça or Bināyaka. In Buddhist scriptures he is known by name "Vināyaka", so also in Japan "Binayakia."[1] It is difficult to ascertain the exact period when this cult was introduced. We think it must have existed before the rise of Buddhism. On the north of the famous temple of Paçupatinātha in Nepal there stands a very ancient one of Ganeça, "which is supposed to have been built in the third century B. C. by Chārumatī, a daughter of Açoka."[2] We find mention of fifty-four types of Ganeça in the Purāṇas and Tantras. Images of various types of Ganeça are also found in Java.[3] In Mayūrabhañja and adjacent places, various types of Ganeça have been found, *e. g.*, with two, four, six and eight arms and so on. The image of Ganeça at Ḍhuḍhua is the oldest of all. From an artistic point of view, however, there is nothing remarkable in it. Some of the images of Gaṇeça at Khiching, however, possess high artistic merit.[4] There is a very fine one of Gaṇeça with four arms, on the seaside at Maṇināgeçvara. This is about four feet in height. (Fig. 8). The two upper arms of this image are broken. He holds a rosary in his right lower hand and an Aŋkuça in the left, and is represented as standing on a lotus. To his right, there is his consort, with a mouse below her. A small and beautiful image of eight-armed Ganeça has been discovered at Kānisāhi and Domagaṇḍarā.

[1] Grünwedal's Buddhist Art in India, p. 183.

[2] Oldfield's *Nipal*, Vol. II, p. 198.

[3] Raffles' History of Java, Vol. II.

[4] *Vide* Mayurabhanja Archaeological Survey. Vol. II for a description of the images at Kiching.

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(Fig. 9). The images of Skanda and Vināyaka, both of whom are regarded as sons of Çiva, signify the existence of two sets of worshippers. Those of Skanda were against the worship of Nāgas, and the peacock, as the enemy of serpents, was regarded as his emblem. In many places, a serpent is found in the beak of the peacock ridden by Skanda. On the other hand, Vināyaka is represented as wearing a snake as a sacred thread and decorated with serpents. Hence it appears that the worshippers of Vināyaka were supporters of Nāga worship.

The following instructions for Dhyāna of the four-handed Ganeça are found in the Mantra-mohodadhi, (Chap. 2, çl. 92) :—

"I adore Ganeça, who holds in his hands a horn, an aŋkuça, a rosary, and a pāça and holds sweet-meats on the tip of his proboscis, who has with him his consort, who is decorated with gold ornaments and who is bright as the rising sun."[1]

Brahma.

It has already been said that formerly the figure of Brahmā used to be enshrined in the temple dedicated to Mitra. We discovered a small statue of Brahmā at Ayodhyā in the place where the Mitra was found. The measurement of the figure is $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. We find the following description in the Kālikā Purāṇa (Chap. 82)—

"Brahmā had four faces and has got four hands; holds *Kamandalu* in one of them. He sits sometime on red lotus and sometime on swan. His body is of high stature and of bright red

[1] "विषाणाङ्कुशाक्षसूत्रञ्च पाशं दधानं करैर्मोदकं पुष्करेण ।
स्वपत्न्या युतं हेमभूषाभराढ्यं गणेशं समुद्यद्दिनेशाभमीडे ॥"

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complexion. He has got a *Kamandalu* in his left hand and a sacrificial pot in the right, has also got a rosary in the right lower and a sacrificial pot in the left lower hand. On the left side, he has a vessel for offerings, and Vedas in front. He has also Sarasvatī on the right and Sāvitrī on the left."[1]

This description corresponds to some extent with the small image found at Ayodhyā. The upper portion of the figure has become effaced and disfigured, of the four faces, only one being distinct. The upper left hand and the faces on the other sides are entirely broken. The figure stands on a red lotus, to the right of which are two swans. But here one misses the figures of Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī, and the four Vedas and vessels mentioned above.

ÇAIVA INFLUENCE.

Evidences of Çaiva influence are to be seen in many places of Mayūrabhañja. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact time when the

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[1] "ब्रह्मा कमण्डलुधरश्चतुर्वक्त्रश्चतुर्भुजः ।
कदाचिद्रक्तकमले हंसारूढः कदाचन ॥
वर्णेन रक्तगौराङ्गः प्रांशुस्तुङ्गाङ्ग उन्नतः ।
कमण्डलुर्वामकरे स्रुवो हस्ते तु दक्षिणे ॥
दक्षिणाधस्तथा माला वामाधश्च तथा स्रुवः ।
आज्यस्थाली वामपार्श्वे वेदाः सर्वेऽग्रतः स्थिताः ॥
सावित्री वामपार्श्वस्था दक्षिणस्था सरस्वती ॥" (८१ अध्याय)

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Çaiva cult was first introduced here, but it is an admitted fact that the worship of Çiva in the form of liŋga or other symbols had been in vogue for a very long while. Many are of opinion that liŋga worship had existed in this country even before the Āŋgirasa Brāhmaṇas introduced image worship. But we think that the worship of Çiva in the form of Maheçvara is more ancient than is generally believed.

The Rudra form of Çiva was worshipped even in Vedic times, but we find that in the period of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata Çiva-worship was already an established fact in the country. On the authority of the Lalita-Vistara and other Buddhist works we learn that Çiva-worship existed in India even before Buddhist influence. The French savant Dr. Eugene Burnouf has admitted that it existed in India so early as 600 B. C.[1]

In the Vedas Rudradeva is recognised as one of the forms of Agni (Fire). Though the Ancient Aryans of India were worshippers of Çiva, Viṣṇu and other gods, and composed hymns in their praise, no evidence has up to this time come to light that they made images of those deities for worship. We are of opinion that the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas of Çākadvīpa brought with them this form of image-worship which afterwards became common. It appear from the Brāhma-parvan of the Bhaviṣya purāṇa that Indra, Dhātṛi, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Aṁçu, Varuṇa and Mitra were recognised by the Mitra-worshipper as the several forms of Sūrya (Sun), and probably through their efforts the

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[1] *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, par E. Burnouf, pp. 131-132.

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image worship of these gods was imported to India from Central Asia.

The worship of these twelve deities has been in vogue from a very remote period of history. Several *mantras* of the Rigveda are offered in their honour. The following lines about these twelve occur in the Bhavisya Brāhmaparvan :—

"तस्य या प्रथमा मूर्त्तिरादित्यस्येन्द्रसंज्ञिता ।
स्थिता सा देवराजत्वे दानवासुरनाशिनी ॥
द्वितीया चास्य या मूर्त्तिर्नाम्ना धातेति कीर्त्तिता ।
स्थिता प्रजापतित्वे सा विधातृ सृजते प्रजाः ॥
तृतीया तस्य या मूर्त्तिः पर्जन्य इति विश्रुता ।
करेष्वेव स्थिता सा तु वर्षत्यमृतमेव हि ॥
चतुर्थी तस्य या मूर्त्तिर्नाम्ना पूषेति विश्रुता ।
मन्त्रेष्वेव स्थिता सा तु प्रजा पुष्णाति भारत ॥
मूर्त्तिर्या पंचमी तस्य नाम्ना त्वष्टेति विश्रुता ।
वनस्पतिषु सा नित्यमोषधीषु च वै स्थिता ॥
षष्ठी मूर्त्तिस्तु या तस्य अर्यमेति च विश्रुता ।
प्रजासंवरणार्थं सा पुरेष्वेवस्थिता सदा ॥
भानो र्या सप्तमी मूर्त्तिर्नाम्ना भग इति स्मृता ।
भूमौ व्यवस्थिता सा तु क्ष्माधरेषु च भारत ॥
अष्टमी चास्य या मूर्त्तिर्विवस्वानिति संज्ञिता ।
अग्नौ व्यवस्थिता सा तु पचतेऽन्नं शरीरिणाम् ॥
नवमी चित्रभानो र्या मूर्त्तिरंशुरिति स्मृता ।
वीरचन्द्रे स्थिता सा तु आप्याययति वै जगत् ॥
मूर्त्ति र्या दशमी तस्य विष्णुरित्यभिधीयते ।
प्रादुर्भवति सा नित्यं गीर्वाणारिविनाशिनी ॥
मूर्त्तिस्त्वेकादशी या तु भानोर्वरुणसंज्ञिता ।
जीवाययति सा कृत्स्नं जगद्धि समुपाश्रिता ॥
मूर्त्ति र्या द्वादशी भानोर्नामतो मित्रसंज्ञिता ।
लोकानां सा हितार्थन्तु स्थिता चन्द्रसरित्तटे ॥" (७४ अध्याय)

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8. Ajaikapāda *from Koisāri.*

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13. Nâgamâtâ *from* Koisâri.

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Bhaga is one of the twelve. His other name is Çiva. From a study of Bhavişya Purāṇa and Zend Avesta of the fire-worshippers we learn that the Magas or Sauras at a very early period worshipped them as gods or angels.[1]

It seems very probable that in the hilly tracts of Mayūrabhañja Çiva worship was introduced in very ancient times. Among the ruins of Köisārigaḍa an antique figure of Hara-Gaurī has been discovered. In the Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭi (Toy-cart) by Çūdraka which belonged to the first century A. D. Çiva is described as follows :—

"पातु वो नीलकण्ठस्य कण्ठः श्यामाम्बुदोपमः ।
गौरीभुजलता यत्र विद्युल्लेखेव राजते ॥"

(मृच्छकटिकं नान्दी ।)

"Let the neck of Nīlakanṭha (the blue-throated) which has the hue of dark-blue clouds, and entwining which shines forth arm of Gaurī like a streak of lightening, protect you."

Hara-Gauri. The figure of Çiva-Gaurī discovered among the ruins of Köisarigaḍa exactly corresponds with the above description of the Mṛcchakaṭi (Fig. 11).

Beside each shoulder of the aforesaid image of Hara-Gaurī, is a small figure of a Centaur wearing a turban. These Centaurs have Scythian features. Dr. Grunwedel is of opinion that these figures have been -introduced into India from Western Asia. In all possibility they were brought by the Scythians. According to Grecian Mythology "the centaurs formed part of the retinue of Bacchus."[2] Here too we find the figure, of a centaur by the side of Bhagavat.

[1] Haug's *Parsis*, p. 273-276.

[2] Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. V. p. 340 (9th Edition).

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The following description, which corresponds exactly with the above image, is found in the Sāradātilaka Tantra (Chap. 18):—

"वन्धूकाभं त्रिनेत्रं शशिशकलधरं स्मेरवक्त्रं दधानं
हस्तैः शूलं कपालं वरदमभयदं चारुहारं भजामि ।
वामोरुस्तम्भगायाः करतलविलसच्चारुरक्तोत्पलाया
हस्तेनाश्लिष्टदेहं मणिमयविलसद्भूषणायाः प्रियायाः ॥" [2]

"I adore (Çiva) whose complexion is like the colour of Vandhuka flower, who has three eyes, who holds a crescent of the moon (on his forehead), who has a smiling face, who holds in his hands a trident and a skull and offers boons and protection from fear, who wears a beautiful necklace and who embraces with his hand the body of his consort, who is seated on his left thigh, holds in her hand a beautiful red lotus and is decorated with ornament made of jewels."

Çiva is generally depicted as being white, whereas the above description of the idol is vermilion, the colour of the *Vandhūka* flower, and thus resembles the image of the Sun-god having the hue of *Javá* (the China rose). In all likelihood it is an image of Bhaga, a form of Çiva,

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[2] The Nibandha Tantra gives the following description of Hara-Pārvati :—

"वन्दे सिन्दूरवर्णं मणिमुकुटलसच्चारुचन्द्रावतंसं
भालोद्यन्नेत्रसौम्यं स्मितमुखकमलं दिव्यभूषाङ्गरागम् ।
वामोरुन्यस्तपाणेररुणकुवलयं संदधत्याः प्रियाया
वृत्तोत्तुङ्गस्तनाग्रे निहितकरतलं शूलटङ्केष्टहस्तम् ॥"

"I salute Içа (Oiva) whose colour is that of vermilion, who wears a crown of jewels with a beautiful moon (on the head) who has shining eyes on the forehead, who has a smiling lotus-like face, who wears bright ornament, who has placed the palm of his hand on the tip of the high and round breast of his consort, who has placed her hand on his left thigh and holds a red lotus (in the other), and who holds in his hands a trident and a Tanka."

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which is one of the twelve Ādityas worshipped by the Sauras. From Arrian we learn that the worship of Bacchus was much in vogue in the Punjab at the time when Alexander invaded India. So the Indian "Bacchus" would seem to be identical with "Bhaga." According to Arrian, Bacchus was also known by the name of Thriambos,[1] who is no other than the Tryambaka (त्र्यम्बक) of the Vedas and Purāṇas. We find in Lalita-Vistara and also in the accounts given by one of the Chinese travellers, that the Çākyas of the Kapilavāstu were worshippers of Çiva. In the latter account we find the following:—"Outside this gate, was a temple of Īçvaradeva containing a stone image of the God in the attitude of rising and bowing. This was the temple into which the infant prince (the P'usa), on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by command of the king his father, (who was present with the party) to be presented to the god according to the custom of the Çākyas."[2]

The image of Bhagavat at Köisāri-gaḍa is about 4½′ × 4′.

There is another four-armed image near the one mentioned above, the workmanship of which is of the average standard. This image has in the right upper hand a small drum (ḍamaru), in the right lower hand a bowl and in the left upper hand a rosary of Akṣa. The left lower arm is broken. On either side of the image is an associate, one holding a trident and the other with a uplifted hand. Near its feet is a vulture (Çakuni) on the right, and a monkey-faced figure

[1] M'Crindle's *Arrian*, p. 179.

[2] Watters: *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 13. Cf. Lalita-Vistara (As. Soc. Edn.), p. 137.

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(Nandi) standing with folded hands on the left. (Fig. 12). Some consider this image to be that of Matsya Avatāra, while others think it is that of Ekapāda Bhairava. But it has no resemblance to either of them, as they are described in the Purāṇas and the Tantras. We may take it to be only another form of Çiva, as it has a *damaru* and a rosary of *aksas* in its hands.

Ajaikapad.

Ajaikapād is one of the eleven Rudras. There are hymns in his honour in the Rig-veda. The celebrated historian Diodorus writes:—"The Sacæ originated from a maiden named Ella, born of the Earth. The portion of the body of this maiden from the waist upwards is that of a woman and the lower part is that of a snake. Scythes was born of this maiden and Jupiter."[1] The lower part of the image, as already mentioned, has the form of a snake and we believe it is an image of Ajaikapād conceived after the form of Ella, the mother of the Çākas. Ajaikapād may be considered the husband of Ella, as he is also known in the Rig-veda as Dauṣpitar (Jupiter). It has been stated above that the Çākas presented the ancient Vedic gods in different forms of the Sun. Ajaikapād, one of these Vedic gods, must therefore, have been presented in such a form. Viewing it in this light, we consider the image just referred to to be an embodiment of one of the solar myths. The presentation and worship of Ajaikapād in this form probably occurred during the ascendancy of the Çakas. The same thing may be said with regard to the red, four-armed image of Içа mentioned above. The image of Ajaikapād appears to belong to the Scythian period of architecture. Over its head is a

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[1] Diodorus Siculus, Book II.

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small figure of Dhyānī Buddha, which forms part of its coronet. It clearly appears from this that the image was brought and worshipped by the Buddhists. It is said that the Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced with a view to harmonise the different conflicting sects of Çaivaism, Çāktaism and minor sub-divisions of Buddhism, and the above image appears to have belonged to that period of Indian History which marks the introduction of the Mahāyāna faith into this country. Images of Mahākāla, with a trident and a skull in his hands are, up to this day, worshiped by Hindus and Buddhists alike in Nepal. He is known amongst the Hindus as Çiva and amongst the Newari Buddhists as Vajrapāni, the son of Akṣobhya Buddha. A small figure of Akṣobhya Buddha is to be seen in the coronet of Mahākāla.[1] That image of Nepal seems to be only another form of Ajaikapād mentioned above.

Çiva in the form of Liŋga is to be seen all over Mayūrabhañja. But these Liŋga-forms appear to belong to a later age than the four-armed images of Çiva. The early Bhañja kings are described in the copper-plates as Mahāçaiva or "great Çaivas," and it is quite probable that Liŋga-worship was prevalent at the time of their ascendancy. But it is difficult to ascertain the exact period when Liŋga-worship was first introduced into Mayūrabhañja.

Liŋgas do not seem to have been looked upon with reverence by the ancient Aryans of India; indeed worshippers of Liŋga in ancient times were ridiculed as "worshippers of the phallus". This is clearly seen in the following verses in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of Padma-purāṇa :—

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[1] Dr. Oldfield's *Nipal*, p. 285.

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"He is not to be worshipped by the twice-born. The food, water, leaves, fruits and garlands offered to Çiva will not be acceptable."[1]

The feelings which inspired the Padma Purāṇa in taking this view of the Liŋga worship only echo in a modified form the hostile sentiments against the Phallic-worshippers expressed by Riṣis of old in the hymns of the Rik-Veda.[2] The line in the Brahma Purāṇa "Rice, leaves, flowers, water offered to Çiva are not to be accepted"[3] also breathes the same adverse feeling.

In all the *Tantras*, however, Liŋga-worship is enjoined as a bounden duty for all castes. It appears that worship of Liŋgas was introduced into Indo-Aryan Society by the Tāntrikas. The Chinese travellers Fa-Hian and Hiuen-Tsiang observed Liŋga-worship in India. There is, therefore, no doubt that it was adopted by the higher-classes of the Hindus long before the fifth century of the Christian era.

Kuṭing or Koṭi-liŋga in Mayūrabhañja is the centre of Liŋga worship. This place is included in Parganā Köisāri. There is a tradition that it derives its name from the fact that a crore of Liŋgas were at one time enshrined here. It is perhaps referred to as Koṭṭāçrama in the copper-plate of Raṇa-Bhañjadeva. The place has, for many centuries past, been deserted and overgrown with jungle.

Ḍhuḍhuā or Prāchī-tīrtha comes next in importance. One Svayambhū-liŋga stands on a hill in this place. The Prācī-tīrtha pours its waters

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[1] See Cabdakalpadruma (Devanāgari Edn.) Vol. IV, p. 218.

[2] Vide Rik-Samhita 7, 21, 5 ; 10, 99, 3.

[3] Vide Brahma Purana quoted by Raghunandana in his Ahnika-tattva, p. 178.

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on the head of this Liŋga and thence flows towards the river Gaŋgāhāra. There is another Liŋga lying uncared for near this Tīrtha. The place above it contains numerous objects of interest belonging to the Çaiva period more than a thousand years old. It is expected that many such interesting objects will be exhumed if places like Kuṭiŋg and Ḍhuḍhuā be properly excavated. The Jhāḍeçvara and the Nṛsiṁheçvara of Peḍāgaḍi and the Chandraçekhara of Khiching[1] are also worth mention. These are considered to be the oldest of the Çiva Liŋgas in Mayūrabhañja. The old temples enshrining them are now in a delapidated condition. The Çiva-liŋga most widely known amongst the Çaivas now-a-days is that of Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha of Māntrī. This temple was built in the sixteenth century of the Christian era.[2] Thousands of pilgrims flock here from distant places to offer worship to this Liŋga even at the present day.

Kshetra-pala.

Images of Kṣetrapāla are almost invariably found at the entrance of ancient temples consecrated to Çiva Liŋgas. There is a grim image of Bhairava, four feet in height, on the left side of the entrance of the temple of Maṇināgeçvara. It is known by the people as Mahākāla. On his head are many serpents entwined like braided hair. His eyes are like large balls. All his teeth are exposed, while a snake constitutes his sacred thread. He wears a garland of heads dangling down to his waist. He has four hands. There is a rosary of *akshas* in his right upper hand, a skull or a begging-bowl in his left upper, and

[1] See Archæological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. II.

[2] For particulars see Report on Māntri.

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a mace in his left lower hand. He holds up his right lower hand in the attitude of affording protection. (Fig. 13). The above description corresponds with that of Kṣetrapāla in the Tantras. Thus :—

"नीलाञ्जनाद्रिनिभमूर्द्ध्वपिशङ्गकेशं
वृत्तोग्रलोचनमुपात्तगदाकपालम् ।
आशाम्बरं भुजगभूषणमुग्रदंष्ट्रं
क्षेत्रेशमद्भुततनुं प्रणमामि देवम् ॥"

शारदातिलक, २० पः ।

"I salute the god Kṣetreça who is like a hill of black collyrium. His hairs are tawny and upright. His eyes are round and fierce. He holds a mace and a skull. His ornaments consist of snakes. His teeth are fierce. His body is strange."

SERPENT-WORSHIP.

Serpent-worship has prevailed in Mayūrabhañja from ancient times. This cult gained a footing here with the ascendancy of the Nāga dynasty, which is considered to be one of the branches of the Scythian race. These Nāgas spread their influence not only over India, but at one time over the whole of the civilized world. Alexander the Great observed Dragon-worship and the influence of serpent-worshippers in the Punjab.[1]

Of serpent-worship we have seen illustrations in relief on the eastern gateway of Sanchi.[2] Uruvilva Kāçyapa, before he was

[1] Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report, Vol. II, p. 9.

[2] Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 133.

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14. **Manasâ** *from Tundarâ.*



15. **Skanda-shashthi** *from Chashákhand.*

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13. Ksetrapâla *from Maninâgeçvara.*

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initiated by Buddha, was held in high reverence all over Magadha as an apostle of serpent-worship. In the ancient reliefs of Sanchi he is represented as worshipping serpents.[1] In Buddhist writings he is thus described :—"Fire-worshipper, a great astrologer and fortune-teller, he had extraordinary magical powers."[2] We find in this description characteristics of a Maga or Scythian Brāhmaṇa.

The Nāga race once exerted great influence all over India, the traces of that influence are still found in several places. Even at the time of the 23rd Tīrthaŋkara Pārçvanātha (8th century B. C.) the Nāgas dwelt near Mayūrabhañja.[3] They were very powerful until the time of the Gupta emperors. After they had been defeated by the Emperor Samudra Gupta, they continued to wield considerable power till the early part of the seventh century of the Christian era. The Nāga family of Mayūrabhañja was known by the name of Vairāṭa Bhujaŋga or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family. Evidences of serpent-worship by the Vairāṭa dynasty are also found in many places of Mayūrabhañja as far as Rāibaniā in the district of Midnapur on the north, Virāṭagaḍa near Khiching on the south, Koptipādā and Nilgiri on the east and Sirsā on the west. This dynasty flourished in Mayūrabhañja before the Bhañja Rājās rose to power there. The Nāga Kings probably took refuge in the hill tracts of Mayūrabhañja and Chota-Nagpur on being driven out of their original home by the Emperor Harṣavardhana. Hence it appears that

[1] Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India, p. 62.

[2] Watter's On Yuan Chuang, Vol. II, p. 133.

[3] See Jaina Influence.

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the power of the Vairāṭa Rājās of Mayūrabhañja dates from the seventh century A. D. The Pāṭamuṇḍi hill near Purāḍihā is known as the original seat of the Serpent-goddess, who was the tutelary deity of the Vairāṭa dynasty. There was near this hill a stone image of the goddess which has long since been removed. It is now preserved in the house of the Sarbarāhkār of the Bhujaŋga dynasty of Koptipādā and is worshipped by him. The image of Kinchaka Nāga carved on the Pāṭamuṇḍi hill is another proof of serpent-worship by the Vairāṭa Rājās. The image known, by the name of Kinchakeçvarī, or Khichiŋgeçvarī, now situated at Khiching in Pāñchpīr and regarded as the tutelary deity of the Bhañja Rājās, was formerly worshipped by the Vairāṭa Bhujaŋgas.[1] The lower half of the image of the goddess Vairāṭapāṭa Thākurāṇī at Koptipādā and Rāibaniā has the form of a serpent while the upper half of the image presents a human form. This image appears to be identical with that of Ellâ, the mother of the Scythians which was worshipped in Central Asia, as described by Diodorus. A figure has been discovered, amongst the ruins of Köisārigaḍa, which appears to be only a different form of this goddess. She wears a head-dress of serpent-hoods, and clasping a bowl in both hands, presents with her closed eyes the attitude of meditation. (Fig. 14A). The goddess, though once considered the chief object of worship of the Bhujaŋga family, is now neglected and receives worship only from a low-class Dehuri of the village. It is known by the people of the place by the name of Koṭāsanī. The figure was probably placed in the fort of

Nagamata.

[1] See Archæological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. II.

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this place and worshipped at the time of the ascendancy of the Vairāṭa dynasty, deriving probably from this fact its name "Koṭavāsinī" or "Koṭāsanī." This figure is in all likelihood that of Manasā, the chief deity of the serpent-worshippers. The following description of her is found in the Tantra :—

"Om! I salute the goddess, who is the mother of serpents, has a face like a moon, is of beautiful complexion, is benign, rides on a swan, is noble-minded, wears a red garment, always bestows all things (to her devotees), has a smiling face, has her body decorated with various ornaments of gold, jewel and nāga-gems, has with (her) eight serpents, has got two high breasts, is a yoginī and is beautiful."[1]

Skanda- thi.

At the village of Tuṇḍarā, district Balasor, situated on the seaside within the Zamindari of the Nilgiri Rāj, another ancient image of a Nāga goddess has been discovered. This goddess is two-armed and seated on a lotus; she is adorned with various ornaments and wears on her head a covering of hoods of seven snakes. On her left thigh is seated an infant which she encircles with her left arm, while in her right hand she holds a cobra. (Fig. 15). People consider this goddess to be Manasā Devī. But in our humble opinion it is a figure of Skandaṣaṣṭhī, thus described in the Tantra :—

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[1] "ओँ देवीमम्बामहीनां शशधरवदनां चारुकान्तिं वदान्यां
हंसारूढ़ामुदारामरुणितवसनां सर्व्वदां सर्व्वदैव ।
स्मेरास्यां मण्डिताङ्गीं कनकमणिगणैर्नागरत्नैरनेकै
र्वन्देऽहं साष्टनागामुरुकुचयुगलां योगिनीं कामरूपाम् ॥"

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"Om! One should meditate upon Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī as having two arms, of young age, giving boons and encouragements, having a white complexion, a great goddess decorated with various ornaments, wearing a bright garment, having a beautiful son on her left thigh, with a benign face, everlasting, mother of the world, giver of happiness, having all sorts of good signs, (on her body) having well-developed breasts, and always residing on the Vindhya hill."[1]

The Vairāṭa Rājās perform the worship of the Nāgamātā and of eight Nāgas in their respective hearths. This form of worship of the Nāgamātā in the kitchen is of very ancient origin. In all probability the Nāga Dynasty (Napas of Diodorus) which is a branch of the Scythian race, introduced it from Central Asia. We also learn from the accounts of Herodotus that the goddess of the hearth was a principal object of worship by the Scythians. In all possibility she has come to be regarded as the Nāga-mātā by the Vairāṭa Dynasty of Mayūra-bhañja and the same goddess is worshipped by the Hindus of Bengal as Manasā every year in the month of August and September in their kitchens. This form of worship is perhaps a relic of the great influence once wielded by the Nāga Dynasty. This god of the hearth has been called Tabitā or Tabiti by Herodotus. In the

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[1] "ओं द्विभुजां युवतीं षष्ठीं वराभययुतां स्मरेत् ।
गौरवर्णां महादेवीं नानालङ्कारभूषिताम् ॥
दिव्यवस्त्रपरीधानां वामक्रोडे सुपुत्रिकाम् ।
प्रसन्नवदनां नित्यां जगद्धात्रीं सुखप्रदाम् ।
सर्वलक्षणसम्पन्नां पीनोन्नतपयोधराम् ।
एवं ध्यायेत् स्कन्दषष्ठीं सर्वदा विन्ध्यवासिनीम् ॥"

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Sāradā-tilaka Tantra we find the following description of the goddess Tvaritā:—

"I salute goddess Tvaritā, the Kairātī[1] goddess, who is black in complexion, has a crest of peacock feather, wears a garment of leaves, has a garland of Guñjā (*Abrus Precatorius*) on her breast, is surrounded by the eight chief serpents, is decorated with large ear-rings, bracelets, a girdle-cord, and jingling anklets, gives boons and encouragement with her hands and has three eyes."[2]

The image of this goddess has many points of resemblance with that of Koṭāsanī found in Köisārigaḍa. The goddess Tavitā of the Scythians is not unlikely to have been worshipped as Tvaritā by the Indian Çāktas and as the snake-goddess Manasā by the Nāgas or the serpent-worshippers.

THE VAISNAVA INFLUENCE.

Viṣṇu is one of the earliest deities of the Hindu pantheon, but in those parts of Mayūrabhañja which we have had the opportunity of visiting, we have not found any trace of the

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[1] Kairāta means a particular serpent, but the Kairāti of the text here very likely means the serpent-goddess.

[2] "श्यामां बर्हिकलापशेखरयुतामाबद्धपर्णांशुकाम्
गुञ्जाहारलसत् पयोधरभरामष्टाहिपान् बिभ्रतीम् ।
ताटङ्काङ्गदमेखलागुणरणन्मञ्जीरतान् प्रापितान्
कैरातीं वरदाभयोद्यतकरां देवीं त्रिनेत्रां भजे ।"

(सारदातिलक १०म पटल)

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influence of the Vaiṣṇava cult. We have seen from passages in the Rasikamaŋgala that the Bhañja Rājās and the people of Mayūrabhañja were either Çaivas or Çāktas before the time of Rājā Vaidyanāth Bhañja (1575 A. D). The temples of Buḍa Jagannātha at Bāripadā and of Rasika-Rāya at Haripur, built by Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja are the earliest indications of Vaiṣṇava influence that can be found. The temples of Rādhā-Mohana and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa at Haripur and the Guṇḍichā temple at Vṛindāvanapur were erected under the orders of Rājā Vikramāditya Bhañja. The image of Vāsudeva found at the village of Baḍasāi adjacent to Köçāli was also constructed under the orders of that Rājā. Although the image is small, its workmanship is of no mean order. It corresponds to the form of Nārāyaṇa described in Sāradātilaka. The description runs thus:—"I adore thee, O holder of the universe, who has the colour of the rising sun, who holds in his hands a conch-shell, a mace, a lotus and a disc, who has on his sides Indirā (Lakṣmī) and Vasumatī, who is adorned with a crown, an armlet (aŋgada), a necklace and ear-rings, who is clothed with an yellow garment, who wears the bright diamond Kaustubha and who has on his breast the Çrīvatsa mark."[1]

Vasudeva.

The image referred to above has on its left side the figures of Lakṣmī and on its right that of Vasumatī (Fig. 16). A beautiful image of

[1] "उद्यद्दिवाकराभमनिशं शङ्खं गदां पङ्कजं
चक्रं बिभ्रतमिन्दिरावसुमतीसंशोभिपार्श्वद्वयम्।
कोटीराङ्गदहारकुण्डलधरं पीताम्बरं कौस्तुभं
दीप्तं विश्वधरं स्ववक्षसि लसच्छ्रीवत्सचिह्नं भजे॥"

(१५श पटल।)

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Laksmi Narayana.

Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa has also been found at Kānisāhi in the Nilgiri State. This image seems to be more ancient than that at Köçāli in which Lakṣmī is represented as standing, whereas in that of Kānisāhis he is represented on her knees with folded hands (Fig. 17).

Garuda.

A fine figure of Garuḍa, which probably belonged to the image of Nārāyaṇa already mentioned has also been discovered. The worship of Garuḍa like that of Viṣṇu existed in India from very ancient times. His great power and influence are described in many Buddhist Jātaka (birth) stories. Figures of Garuḍa are also found in many ancient Buddhistic structures.[1] Just, beside the above-mentioned image of Garuḍa, (Fig. 18) is one of Varāha Avatāra.[2] (Fig. 19).

Varaha.

THE JAINA INFLUENCE.

The exact period when Jainism first gained ascendency in Mayūrabhañja has not yet been ascertained. The influence of the teaching and religion of Pārçvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaŋkara, spread in Aŋga, Vaŋga and Kaliŋga. We learn from the Bhagavatī Sūtra, one of the earliest Jaina works, and also from the life of the 23rd

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[1] *Vide* Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India, pp. 48-52.

[2]. The following description of the Avatāra is quoted in the Padārthādarça (a commentary of Sāradātilaka) by Rāghava Bhatta :—

'कृष्णाङ्गस्वतिमौषवक्त्रनखिनं पद्मस्थितं स्वाङ्कगं
चौणीयक्षिमुदारबाहुभिरयो शङ्खं गदामम्बुजम् ।
चक्रं बिभ्रतमुग्रकान्तिममितं देवं वराहं भजे ॥"

(१५श पटल)

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Tīrthaŋkara by Bhāvadeva, that after preaching his doctrines in Puṇḍra and Tāmralipta, Pārçvanātha went to the place of Nāgas. On the way, four Çrāvakas, *viz.*, Çiva, Sundara, Saumya and Jaya, became his disciples. It is stated in the Jaina Kṣetra-Samāsa and in various other such works, that having left Tāmralipta, Pārçvanātha came to a place called Kopakaṭa or Kopakaṭaka, where, on the second day of his initiation, he broke his fast in the house of Dhanya. From this incident Kopakaṭa came to be called Dhanyakaṭa and regarded as one of the most sacred shrines of the Jainas. This Kopakaṭaka or Kopakapuri is known as Kopāri in the district of Balasor and is situated near the border of Mayūrabhañja. On either side of the image of Pārçvanātha found in the ruins of Kösāli near Baḍasāi, may be seen four figures, two standing and two sitting. These are probably the figures of the four disciples of Pārçvanātha mentioned above. (Fig. 20).

Parcvanatha.

We learn from the Jaina Kalpasūtra that Pārçvanātha Svāmin obtained Mokṣa in the year 777 B.C. It is possible that with the advent of Pārçvanātha in Mayūrabhañja and the Nilgiri border, some of his disciples, also known as Jaina *Cravakas*, came to this place. But as Jainism could not be popular with the people, their presence did not leave any permanent result there. From outward appearance, it seems that the above statue of the 23rd Tīrthaŋkara with a Scythian cap, belongs to the remote period when the Kusumba Kṣatriyas[1] were in power in Mayūrabhañja.

Although time, has to a great extent, robbed the figure of its beauty, yet it attests the influence

[1] For a description of the Kusumba Ksatriyas, see Part III of the Introduction.

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20. Pārçvanātha *from Koçali*

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16. Vāsudeva.



17. Lakṣminārāyana.



19. Varāha Avatāra.



18. Garuda *from Kāniṣāhi*,

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which Jainism once had on the place some 2000 years ago. One large image of Pārçvanātha has been found in the bed of the river Sona near a place known as Pundāl in the Nilgiri State. This image is a fine specimen of the ancient sculptural art of the Jainas. As stated, the image was found in the river-bed. This may be due to the priests who probably threw it into the river to save it from the hands of iconoclasts. A snake spreading its hood over the head of the image serves the purpose of an umbrella. On the upper part of the figures close by the umbrella, both to right and left, are fairies and below them Gandharvas and Kinnaras, while below these again are the figures of 8 planets represented in the posture of meditation. The 9th Ketu is not found on the group. Jaina scriptures speak of such images as "Navagrahārchita Pārçvanātha", *i. e.*, "the Pārçanātha worshipped by nine planets." The measurement of the complete figure is 4′6″ by 2′8″. Though the image has lost its nose, its artistic beauty has not altogether vanished. (Fig. 21). Its appearance and condition indicate that it belonged to a later date than that of the Pārçvanātha image found at Koçāli.

Another fine image of Pārçvanātha in a sitting posture may be seen in the temple of Buḍā Jagannātha at Bāripadā (Fig. 22).

The last Tīrthaŋkara Mahāvīra otherwise called Vardhamāna Svāmin, was once worshipped in Mayūrabhañja. Evidences of this worship are still to be found at the village of Rāṇibandha which is only 3 miles distant from Baḍasāi. At Bhīmapur, a village situated at a distance of eight miles to the south-east of the

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town of Balasor, many old stone images have been discovered, which are supposed to be likenesses of Vardhamāna Svāmin. About ten or twelve years ago when excavating a tank at Bhīmapur, a very beautiful figure of Mahāvira was found only 5 cubits below the surface. This figure is 5 feet in height. On each side of the image may be observed diminutive figures of 24 Tīrthaŋkaras of both the Utsarpiṇī and Avasarpiṇī. It has been kept by Rājā Vaikuṇṭha Nāth De Bahadur in his palace-garden. (Fig. 23). The workmanship of the image is very fine. At Bhīmapur we found some more little figures of Mahāvīra Svāmin placed under the trees. People worship these figures as those of goddess Durgā and others. The general belief is that there are still many more such (Jaina) figures lying underground. Traces of Jaina influence are also to be found at Vardhanpur, near Bhīmapur. The name Vardhanpur is perhaps a contraction of Vardhamānapur and Vardhamāna is another name of Mahāvīra Svāmin after whom the village was named. At the time of the Jaina ascendancy the villages of Bhīmapur and Vardhamānapur were known by the latter name.

Mahavira

There are also further evidences of the Jaina influence once prevalent in Orissa. Last winter we went to a village called Jhāḍeçvarapur* in the Parganā Kushamandal, 24 miles to the north-east of Cuttack, in search of inscriptions and copper-plates. Local tradition has it that in very ancient times a Rājā of Jhārkhaṇḍ (Mayūrabhañja?) founded a Çiva Liŋga named Jhāḍeçvara and built a great temple over it. From the

* Jharressurpur of the Trigonometrical Survey Atlas-Sheet No. 115. Lat. 20° 29′, N; Long. 86° 18′ 25″ E.

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name of the idol the place came to be known as Jhāḍeçvarapur. The ancient temple of Jhāḍeçvara is now in complete ruins, but recently at the time of excavating the place some very important and valuable relics, evidently belonging to the glorious period of Jainism, were discovered in the locality. They excel all other works of art under Jaina influence to be found in the whole of Orissa. Figures of Tirthāŋkaras and those of many Gaṇadharas, Pūrvadharas, Çrāvaka and Çrāvikās have been discovered under the earth. Among these we find the figures of *Jina* either absorbed in meditation (Dhyāna) in a sitting posture or standing naked. (Fig. 23A). The fine sculpturing of these figures produces a striking impression. They are of beautiful chlorite stone and range from 2 to 6 feet in height. If this place were systematically explored, it is possible that many more figures and even ruins of ancient temples might be discovered.

Many Jaina figures have lately been found at Khiching as well as at places close to Ādipur the ancient capital of Mayūrabhañja. We are of opinion that they were made at the time of the Kusumba Kṣatriyas.*

INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM.

There are evidences of Buddhistic influence in various parts of Mayūrabhañja. It is difficult to ascertain at what period Buddhism was originally introduced here. It is, however,

* See Part III of the Introduction.

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recorded in the Buddhistic work called Dāthavaṁsa, that after the *pari-nirvāna* of Buddha, when his body was being cremated, one of his disciples called Kṣema secured a tooth of Buddha from the funeral pyre and made a present of it to Brahma Datta, king of Kaliŋga. The king had a golden temple built in his capital and placed the holy tooth in it. From this, the capital of Kaliŋga came to be known as "Danta-puri" (the city of the tooth). In the district of Midnapur, near the Mayūrabhañja border, there is a large and well-known village, a railway station, and a *chauki* called Dāntan, Dātan or Dāntun. We have found this place to be identical with Danta-puri.[1] The ignorant villagers now attribute the name of the place to the tooth-brush of Çrī Chaitanya being left there. This is absurd, as the place contains many relics of a remote ancient past, far anterior to the time of Çrī Chaitaṇya. But in this story is perhaps preserved a faint recollection of the tradition of the place being sacred in connection with Buddha's tooth. The village was once within the limits of Mayūrabhañja. There are still zemindaries in Parganā Dāntan, which belong to the Mayūrabhañja State.

Çāmaleçvara, the name of the celebrated Mahādeva of Dāntan, seems to be only a corrupt form of Çramaṇeçvara, which is one of the names of Buddha. The temple of Çramaṇeçvara on the banks of Suvarṇa-rekhā in ancient times attracted pilgrims from very distant places. No trace of it now remains except in the ruins near the old bed of Suvarṇa-rekhā. By its side stands the modern temple of Çāmaleçvara, built by a Çaiva devotee, who had set up a

[1] Dr. Rajendralāl Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II., pp. 105-107.

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21. Navagrahārchita Pārçvanātha *from Pandil.*

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22. Dhyâni Pârçvanâtha *from Bâripadâ*

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liŋga and a beautiful image of the sacred bull of Çiva. Some relics of the Buddhistic age have, however, been discovered, five to seven cubits below the surface of the earth, at the village of Dāntan. It is therefore expected that some definite and historical evidences of the Buddhistic period may come to light, if excavation be regularly carried on here.

Infant Buddha.

Buddhistic remains have also been found in certain parts of Mayūrabhañja proper, Nilgiri and district Balasor, which we lately had an opportunity of visiting. Images of Çākya-Siṁha, "the infant lion of the Çākyas" on the lap of Mahāprajāvatī Gautamī have been discovered at Māntri, Ayodhyā and Ḍoma-gaṇḍarā. It is worthy of note that these representations of Buddha's boyhood, are known to the local people as representing episodes from the legend of Sāvitrī and Satyavāna. The following occurs in the Lalita-Vistara :—

"There was a garden called Vimalavyūha. The Bodhisattva strayed into that garden and was there taken on the lap by Mahāprajavatī Gautamī."*

* "विमलव्यूहनामोद्यानं तत्र बोधिसत्त्वो विनिर्गतोऽभूत्।
तत्र महाप्रजावत्या गौतम्या बोधिसत्त्वोऽङ्के गृहीतोऽभूत्।"

Lalita-Vistara (As. Soc .Edition) p. 139.

Leafy trees are found overhanging the images at Māntri and Ayodhyā indicating the Vimalavyūha garden. Below the image at Māntri are the figures of a serpent and a lion (Fig. 24); while below those at Ayodhyā and Ḍomagaṇḍarā are the figures of a serpent and two

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females with folded hands. (Figs. 25 and 26). The serpent seems to represent the king of Nāgas, while the lion is an emblem of Çākya-Simha, "the lion of the Çākyas." One of the female figures is that of the deity presiding over the Vimala-vyūha garden and the other is her attendant.



No. 26.

There are vast ruins of the magnificent structures of the Tāntrika Buddhistic period at Ayodhyā in the Nilgiri State. The image of a Dhyānī Buddha is worth mention as clearly indicating the imitation of style of early Buddhist influence. (Fig. 28).

Buddha practising Yoga.

The image of Buddha in the attitude of Yoga, which was discovered at Kasbā in the district of Balasor and may now be seen in front of the Balasor Municipal Office, furnishes a specimen of mediæval Buddhistic sculpture. We find in Lalita-Vistara (Chapter XVIII) that after the death of Sujātā's attendant Rādhā, Buddha took up her cloth from the burning-ground, wrapped it round his feet and became absorbed in meditation and that at that moment the Chāturmahārajika-Devas proclaimed his glory.*

* "सुजाताया ग्रामिकदुहितुर्दासी राधा नाम्नी कालगताऽभूत्। सा शाणकैः परिवेष्ट्य श्मशानमपकृष्य त्यक्ताऽभूत्। तदद्रमेवाद्राक्षं पांशुकूलम्। ततोऽयं तत् पांशुकूलं वामेन पादेनाक्रम्य दक्षिणहस्तं प्रसार्यावनतोऽभूत्तदवग्रहीतुम्। ......महाराजकुलप्रसूतस्य चक्रवर्तिराज्यपरित्यागिनः पांशुकूले चित्तं नतमिति अन्तरिक्षदेवा भौमानां देवानां शब्दं श्रुत्वा चातुर्महाराजिकानां देवानां घोषमुदीरन्ति स्म।"

Lalita Vistara (As. Soc. Edn.) p. 332.

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The image of Buddha referred to above, fulfils all these conditions. There are four minor images representing the gods and Buddha sits in the attitude of Yoga with a piece of cloth wrapped round his feet. (Fig. 27).

THE ÇĀKTA INFLUENCE.

During our short visit to Mayūrabhañja and adjacent places, we observed a large number of objects of special interest to the Çāktas of the Mahāyāna Buddhists as well as of other Hindu Tāntrika schools. These would furnish materials for the history not only of the province in which they were discovered, but also of the vast community of the Çāktas all over India.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact period at which Çāktaism first made its appearance in India. It is almost certain, however, that the Tantras, the scriptures of the Çāktas, claim a very remote antiquity. That a reference to their origin may be traced even in the Atharva Veda, is admitted by some scholars. A manuscript of a Buddhistic Tāntrika work entitled "Uṣṇiça-vijaya-dhāraṇī," written on palm-leaves, has been discovered in the Horiuzi Monastery of Japan. It was taken to that country in the sixth century A.D. The original, of which it is a copy, must, therefore, have belonged to an earlier period. There is plenty of evidence to show that Çakti

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worship was very prevalent throughout India in the fifth century A.D. The ancient Kadamba dynasty of the Deccan were worshippers of the "Sapta Mātrikās" (seven mothers).[1] These were also the tutelary deities of the ancient Chālukya kings.[2] From the rock inscription of Viçvavarman, king of Malwa, of the year 480 Samvat (*i.e.*, 423-24 A. D.), we learn that the minister of this king had a large temple built for the Mātrikās.[3] This inscription shows the influence of the Tantras and Çakti worship in Central India as well. It even appears from the stone-pillar inscription of the Gupta Emperors Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta that the images of Mātrikās were erected and set up for worship by their order.[4] It will therefore be admitted, that Mātrikā or Çakti-worship is much older than the time of the Gupta Emperors. In the verses in praise of Çiva and Çakti found in the prelude of the drama Mṛchchhakaṭika, composed before the first century of the Christian era, we observe a tendency to attribute to the deities, the passion of love which we find so greatly developed in all Tāntrika forms of worship in subsequent times. We have already mentioned this while dealing with the subject of Çaivaism. Ancient images of Pārvatī embraced by Çiva are found all over India, and some images of this description, belonging to the Scythian period, have been unearthed at Köisārigaḍa, Mayūrabhañja. So it is not improbable that Çakti-worship existed in India at the time of the Scythian rule.

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 27.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, Vols. VII. p. 162 ; XIII, p. 137.

[3] Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 76.

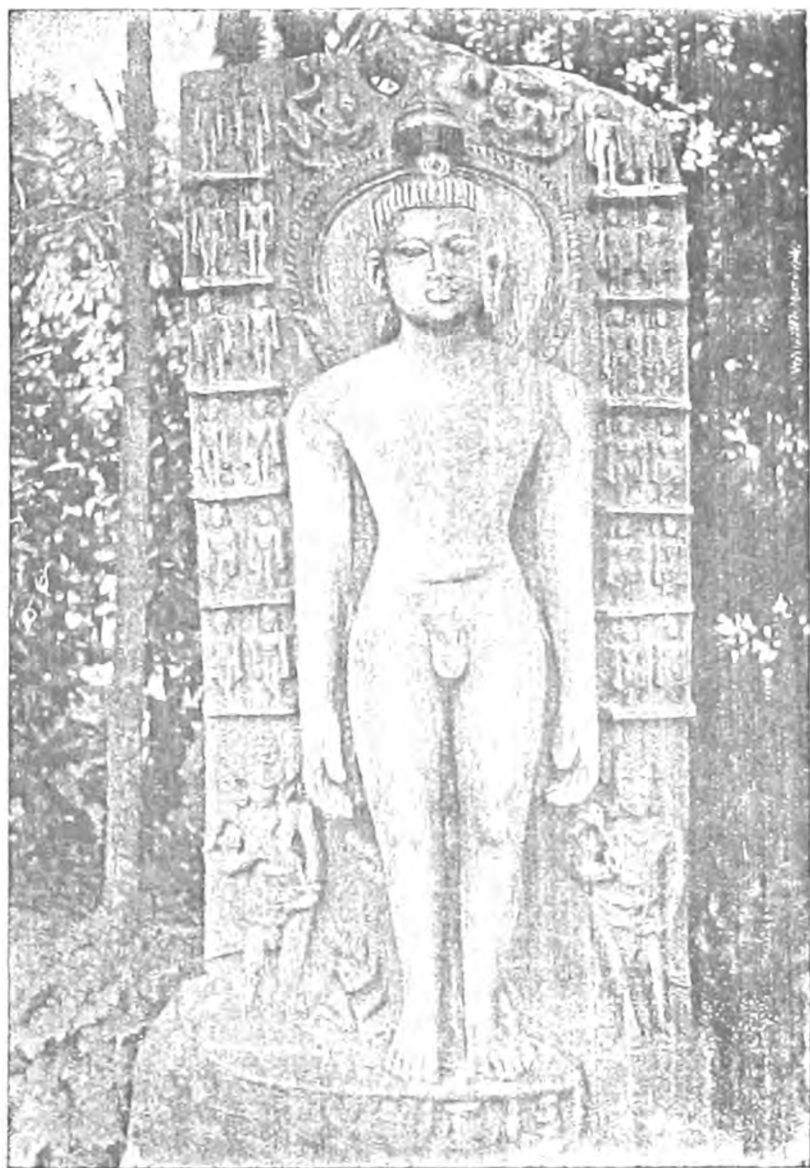
[4] Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 48.

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23A. Tirthankaras and others *from Jhâdeçvarapur.*

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22. Mahâvira Svâmi *from Bhîmapur.*

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Some persons are of opinion that the origin of Çāktaism is to be sought in the developed form of the Mahāyāna cult preached by the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna. It was through his efforts that the worship of the Brāhmaṇic Çaktis was introduced into the Mahāyāna community. We are, however, of opinion that Çakti-worship was prevalent amongst the Sauras and Çaivas before Nāgārjuna introduced it amongst the Buddhists.

Kamalā belongs to the Hindu pantheon of ten Mahāvidyās; she is represented as having two elephants on either side of her in the act of showering water overhead with their proboscis. A description of this Kamalā occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.[1]

In the Bhiṣma-parvan of the Mahābhārata (Chap. 23) there is a prayer addressed to the goddess Durgā. We find in this prayer certain mystic syllables or the *bīja-mantra* of the Çāktas. This fact would suggest that these mantras existed from very ancient times. The Lalita-Vistara (Chap. 137) speaks of the images of the following gods :—

"शिवस्कन्दनारायणकुवेरचन्द्र-सूर्यवैश्रवण-शक्रब्रह्मलोकपाल-प्रभृतयः प्रतिमा।"

That is to say, the images of Çiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Chandra, Sūrya, Vaiçravaṇa, Indra, Brahmā, Lokapālas, &c., were shown to Buddha, after his birth. The quotation does not mention the name of any goddess. Some people infer from this that the worship of Çakti or the Seven Mātrikās did not exist at the time of

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[1] "नियुज्यमानाश्च गजैः सुहस्ताः सकेसराश्चोत्पलपत्रहस्ताः।
बभूव देवी च कृता सुहस्ता लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता॥" (५।७।१४)

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Buddha. In the twenty-fourth chapter of the Lalita-Vistara, however, we find mention of the existence of eight Devakumārīkā (Deva-maidens) in each of the four quarters of the world. An impression seems to prevail that the worship of four sets of Nāyikās or Çaktis (eight in each direction) was prevalent at the time of the Lalita-Vistara.

Many are of opinion that the Tāntrika or Çākta cult is not of Indian origin. The reason given for this is that the Tantras do not accept the authority of the Vedas, that they support non-vedic customs and in certain places they even abuse the Vedas. The following verses in the Kulālikāmnāya or Kubjikāmata Tantra, which was composed about fifteen centuries ago, support this view :—

"गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षेऽधिकाराय सर्व्वतः ।
पीठोपपीठक्षेत्रेषु कुरु सृष्टिरनेकधा ॥
गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षे कुरु सृष्टिस्त्वमीदृशः ।
पञ्चवेदाः पञ्चैव योगिनः पीठपञ्चकं ॥
एतानि भारते वर्षे यावत् पीठा न स्थाप्यते ।
तावत् न मे त्वया सार्द्धं सङ्गमश्च प्रजायते ॥"

"Go thou to Bhārata-varṣa in order to spread your influence in every place there; create many (things) in Pīṭhas, Upa-pīṭhas and Kṣetras; go to Bhārata-varṣa and make the following creations:—five Vedas, five Yogins and five Pīṭhas. You shall not have my company until you establish these Pīṭhas."[1]

From these passages we are led to think that the Çākta cult had a foreign origin. In fact, we

[1] M. M. Haraprasād Çāstri's Nepal Catalogue, p. LXXIX.

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find in the Chīnāchāra and other Tantras that Vasiṣṭha went to China at the instance of Buddha and there found the goddess Tārā, the chief object of worship of both the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrikas. The following are the verses referred to in the Mahāchīnāchārasāra Tantra :—

"Then the great sage Vasiṣṭha bowed down before that goddess and went to Buddha in order to learn religious rites from him. Then going to the country called "Mahāchīna" (great China) the sage, who was full of knowledge, saw by the side of the Himālayas the Içvara (Buddha), who is adored by Lokeçvaras, surrounded by a thousand women, with eyes grown languid through intoxication by drinking wine. Seeing Buddha thus from a distance, Vasiṣṭha became astonished, and praying to the great goddess the saviour of the world, thought within himself: "What is Viṣṇu in his Buddha form doing here? This rite seems to me to be against (the dictates of) Çiva." When he was thinking thus, an unseen voice said, "O sage, consider this rite to be a great help in the worship of goddess Tāriṇī. She is not pleased with the view of those who perform rites contrary to this. If you want to please her in a short time, worship her in accordance with this rite of Chīna." When he heard the voice, his hair stood at their ends, and he fell on the ground with joy. Then rising and bowing down, the sage went to Buddha with folded hands and saw him overpowered with the joy of intoxication. Buddha became pleased (with him) and asked, "Why have you come here?" Then the great sage bowed to him with the humility of devotion and told him all that goddess Tāriṇī had told him regarding her worship. Hearing that, Bhagavān Buddha, who was Hari filled with

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divine knowledge and who was well versed in the rites of Chīna, said thus to Vasiṣṭha, " O sage, this rite of Tāriṇī is not divulged to all. But I shall divulge it to you on account of your devotion. I shall tell you about the rites of Tāriṇī which grants fortunes, and on performing which a man is never drowned in this ocean of the world, which gives powers to all, which is full of divine knowledge and which gives salvation immediately. (In this rite) purification by ablution, &c., is mental, repetition (of names) is mental, divine worship is mental and *tarpana*, &c., are also mental. In it there is no necessity of purity, &c., and in it (drinking of) wine does not bring any pollution. One ought to worship the goddess always, without bathing and after taking his food. One should have no ill-feeling towards women. Women must be especially worshipped. They must never be beaten, abused, ill-treated or displeased. Otherwise, salvation will be denied. Women are goddesses, women are life, women are ornaments. * * * Sitting on a dead body or entering a bower of creepers gives great results. If one goes to a burning-place, with dishevelled hair and naked and becomes surrounded with the trees and creepers of "great China," (*i.e.*, *Javā* flower) one gets salvation. * * * * The devotee should worship Çiva with fragrant, white *lauhitya*, *kunkuma*, *vilva*, *maruvaka etc.*, but not with *tulasi*. The *tatastha yogin* should worship Tārā, the saviour of the world at an *ekalinga*, or a burning place or a solitary cross-road."[1]

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[1] "ततः प्रणम्य तां देवीं वसिष्ठोऽसौ महामुनिः।
जगामाचारविज्ञानवाञ्छया बुद्धरूपिणम्॥
ततो गत्वा महाचीनं देशं ज्ञानमयो मुनिः।
ददर्श हिमवत्पार्श्वे लोकेश्वरसुसेवितम्॥

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[illegible]

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27. Buddha practicing yoga *from Kasbā.*

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24. Dhyâni Buddha *from Ayodhyâ.*

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It is evident from the above quotations that the worship of Tārā or Çakti was introduced into India from a country north of the Himalayas.

In the ancient work called Kulālikāmnāya Tantra referred to above, the Magas are recognised as Brāhmaṇas. These Magas, as we have already mentioned, introduced the worship of images of the Sun-god in India. It is quite probable that these Magas afterwards introduced the worship of images of Çiva and Çakti. They were the earliest Sun-worshippers; and it is for this reason that we find that in all dis-

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कामिनीनां सहस्रेण परिवारितमीश्वरम् ।
मदिरापानसंजातं मदमन्थरलोचनम् ।
दूरादेव विलोक्यैनं वसिष्ठो बुद्धरूपिणम् ॥
विस्मयेन समाविष्टः स्मरन् संसारतारिणीम् ॥
किमिदं क्रियते कर्म विष्णुना बुद्धरूपिणा ।
देव देव विरुद्धोऽयमाचारः सम्मतो मया ॥
इति चिन्तयतस्तस्य वसिष्ठस्य महामुनेः ।
आकाशवाणी प्राहाथ एवं चिन्तय सुव्रत ॥
आचारपरमार्थोऽयं तारिणीसाधने मुने ।
एतद्विरुद्धाचारस्य मते नासौ प्रसीदति ॥
यदि तस्याः प्रसादस्त्वमचिरेणाभिवाञ्छसि ।
एतेन चीनाचारेण तदा तां भज सुव्रत ॥
आकाशवाणीमाकर्ण्य रोमाञ्चितकलेवरः ॥
वसिष्ठो दण्डवद्भूमौ पपातातीवहर्षितः ॥
तत्रोत्थाय प्रणम्यासौ कृताञ्जलिपुटो मुनिः ।
जगाम विष्णोः समीपं बुद्धरूपस्य पार्श्वति ॥
अथासौ तं समालोक्य मदिरामोदविह्वलः ।
प्राह बुद्धः प्रसन्नात्मा किमर्थं त्वमिहागतः ॥
अथ बुद्धं प्रणम्याह भक्तिनम्रो महामुनिः ।
प्रयुक्तं तारिणी देव्या निजाराधनहेतवे ॥
तच्छ्रुत्वा भगवान् बुद्धस्तत्त्वज्ञानमयो हरिः ।
वसिष्ठं प्राह सज्ञानश्चीनाचाराधिकारवान् ॥

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courses on the worship of Çakti both in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras the necessity of meditating on the image of Sun is mentioned first. It shows the early influence of the Sun-worshippers. The ancient historians of Greece mention the name "Sakitai" as a clan of the Scythians. Hence some are of opinion that those of the Çāktas who first promulgated this form of worship were a branch of the Scythians. Moreover when we look into their early manners and customs,

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अप्रकाश्योऽयमाचारस्तारिण्याः सर्वदा मुने ।
तव भक्तिवशाद्वच्मि प्रकाश्यामीह तत्परः ॥
बुद्ध उवाच ।
यथाचारविधिं वच्मि तारादेव्याः समद्धिदम् ।
तस्यानुष्ठानमात्रेण भवाब्धौ न निमज्जति ॥
समस्तलोकशमनानन्दादेव त्रिभूतिदम् ।
तत्त्वज्ञानमयं साक्षाद्विमुक्तिफलदायकम् ॥
स्नानादिमानसं शौचं मानसश्च जपः स्मृतः ।
पूजनं मानसं दिव्यं मानसं तर्पणादिकम् ॥
नात्र शुद्ध्याद्यपेक्षास्ति न च मद्यादिदूषणम् ।
सर्व्वथा पूजयेद्देवीमस्नातः कृतभोजनः ॥
स्त्रीद्वेषो नैव कर्त्तव्यो विशेषात् पूजनं स्त्रियः ।
तासां प्रहारनिन्दाश्च कौटिल्यमप्रियं तथा ॥
सर्व्वथा न च कर्त्तव्यमन्यथा सिद्धिरोधकृत् ।
स्त्रियो देवाः स्त्रियः प्राणाः स्त्रिय एव विभूषणम् ॥
स्त्रीसङ्गिना सदा भाव्यमन्यथा स्वस्त्रिया सह ।
* * * *

शवासनाधिकफलं लतागेहप्रवेशनम् ।
श्मशानालयमागत्य मुक्तकेशो दिगम्बरः ।
महाचीनद्रुमलतावेष्टितो मुक्तिमाप्नुयात् ॥
* * * *

सुगन्धिश्वेतलोहित्यकुसुमैरर्च्चयेच्छिवाम् ।
बिल्वैर्मरुवकाद्यैश्च तुलसीवर्ज्जितैः शुभैः ।
एकलिङ्गे श्मशाने वा निर्ज्जने वा चतुष्पथे ।
तटस्थः साधयेत् योगी तारां भुवनतारिणीं ॥" (२य पटल)

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we find that the Scythians used to eat flesh and drink wine and were addicted to practices mentioned in the Tantras as the five *makāras.* They also offered animal sacrifice before their gods. Their priests followed comparatively purer customs, but the bulk of them were *vīrāchāris.* With the spread of their influence, the non-Vedic Çākta rites and customs were gradually accepted by the people all over India. The Mahāyāna school of Buddhism was founded during the reign of the Scythian monarch Kaniṣka and, through his efforts, it spread over the whole of Asia. The followers of this school introduced the worship of Çakti everywhere. Several images of the Çakti cult were imported into India from countries lying north of the Himalayas. We find mention of this fact in some of the Tantras. In Rudra-yāmala and other Hindu Tantras the worship of Tārā is said to have been brought by Vasiṣṭha from China. Similarly in the Buddhistic Tantra of Nepal called Sādhanamālā, it is mentioned that the worship of Ekajaṭā was brought to India by Nāgārjuna from Bhoṭa or Tibbet; the passage runs thus :—

"आर्यनागार्जुनपादैर्भोटेषु उद्धृता इति ।"

In the Svatantra-Tantra we have the following verse :—

"मेरोः पश्चिमकूले तु चोलनाख्यो ह्रदो महान् ।
तत्र जज्ञे स्वयं तारा देवी नीलसरस्वती ॥"

"There is a great lake called Cholana on the western side of Meru. The blue Saraswatī Tārā first appeared there."

The five Vedas, mentioned in the Kulālikāmnāya Tantra referred to above, are the northern, southern, eastern, western and upper (ūrdha) Āmnāyas (schools), the five yogīs are the five

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Maheçvaras or the five Dhyānī Buddhas and the five pīṭhas are situated at Oriyan (Orissa), Jāla (Jālandhara), Purṇa (Puna in Mahāraṣṭra), Mataŋga (Çrīçaila) and Kāmākhyā. These five piṭhas were the original piṭhas or centres of the Çāktas, which subsequently increased to fifty-one. The Vedic Brāhmaṇas did not at first accept the Çākta cult, but when it spread all over India some of them became initiated in its rites. They first accepted the worship of the "Seven Mātrikās. These Brāhmaṇas have been mentioned by Varāhamihira in his Vṛihat-Saṁhitā as "Mātrikā-maṇḍala-vit." The name is probably derived from the fact that *chakras*, *mandalas* or *yantras* are indispensable elements in Çakti-worship. Through the efforts of these Brāhmaṇas, some Vedic mantras came to be introduced into the Çākta cult.

These are the Brāhmaṇas whom we have described as the Hindu Çāktas. From Kulālikāmnāya-Tantra, referred to above, we learn that the three schools sprang up amongst the Çāktas, *viz.*, the Devayāna, Pitṛyāna and Mahāyāna.

"दक्षिणे देवयानन्तु पितृयानन्तु चोत्तरे ।
मध्यमे तु महायानं शिवसंज्ञा प्रगीयते ॥"

"The Devayāna (is prevalent) in the south, the Pitṛyāna in the north and the Mahāyāna in the middle. These are the names given by Çiva."

The distinctive features of these three schools have not yet been fully known. This much, however, can be gathered about the Mahāyāna school from its principal authority, the Tathāgata-guhyaka, that the rites observed by its followers are the same as those known in Rudra-yāmala and other Tantras as Vāmāchāra or Kaulāchāra. The Mahāyāna Tāntrika school

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subsequently gave rise to two other schools named Kālachakrayāna or Kālottarayāna and Vajrayāna. The Buddhist Çāktas of Tibet belong to the former, while those of Nepāl belong to the latter school.

In the Çaktisaṅgama-Tantra, we get some idea of the origin of the Çākta cult. The following are the particular passages referred to :—

" For the purpose of continuing this creation varieties (of religions) have been promulgated. O goddess, Çaktism, Çaivaism, Ganapati-worship, Vaiṣnavism, Sun-worship and Buddhism—all these cults have gradually sprung up into existence. O great goddess, many other cults have been promulgated after these. * * * *

"Though the sects often blame one another yet there is harmony in all, and explanations of these varieties have been given in order to bring about this unity. But some praise and some abuse each other. For this reason Vidyās do not become successful and *mantras* remain like evil spirits. In spite of these recriminations, there is unity. For the purpose of bringing about this unity every one should worship Kālikā Tāriṇī. Goddess Çivā (Kālī) assumes various forms beautiful, ugly and fearful. I have mentioned to thee many scriptures in order to elucidate these forms. I have promulgated the Çākta cult in order to demonstrate the unity of the fourteen branches of knowledge, viz., Purāṇas, Nyāya, Mīmaṁsā, Sāṁkhya, Pātañjala, Vedānta, Dharmaçāstras, Aṅga, Chhandas, Astronomy and the four Vedas. Hear, O Goddess, attentively ; I shall tell you the truth. Goddess Bhavatāriṇī is the deity presiding over the four Vedas and goddess Kālikā is the deity presiding over the Atharva-

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Veda. Inspite of the different sects often finding fault with one another, a spirit of harmony underlies their seemingly contrary doctrines. In order to bring about an union of the sects, Çāstric explanations are given propounding the doctrine of this harmony. The sects though sometimes praise one another, are often led by a spirit of quarrel. Hence the Vidyā they profess becomes futile, and the Mantras are, as it were guided by evil spirits. In order to bring about this much desired harmony, it is necessary that these people of different sects should worship Kālikā, the saviour of the world. Rites according to the Atharva-Veda cannot be performed without Kālī or without Tārā. She is called Kālikā in Kerala, Tripurā in Kaçmīr and Tārā in Gauḍa. She is the Kālottarā or the chief divinity of Kālottara-yāna."[1]

[1] "संसारोत्पत्तिकार्यार्थं प्रपञ्चोऽयं विनिर्मितं ।
शाक्तं शैवं गाणपत्यं वैष्णवं सौरबौद्धकं ॥
एवं क्रमेण देवेशि मतमेतद्विनिर्मितम् ।
मतानि बहुसंख्यानि तत्रास्य महेश्वरि ॥
* * * *
सर्वतान्योन्यनिन्दा च तदैक्याय प्रजायते ।
तदैक्यस्य सुसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रपञ्चार्थं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥
भिन्नाः भिन्नं प्रशंसन्ति निन्दन्ति च परस्परम् ।
न विद्या सिद्धिमाप्नोति मन्त्रमपि पिशाचवत् ॥
अन्योन्य यदि निन्दा च तदैक्यं प्रजायते ।
तदैक्यस्य सुसिद्ध्यर्थं कालिकां तारिणीं यजेत् ॥
सुन्दरकूरवाल्पुपे दृपा संविभ्रतो शिवा ।
रूपमेतत् प्रपञ्चार्थं कीर्तितन्तु मया तव ॥
पुराणं न्यायमीमांसासांख्यपातञ्जलं तथा ।
वेदान्तो व्याहृतिर्देवि धर्मशास्त्रादिमिश्रिता ।
छन्दोज्योतिर्वेदशास्त्रविद्या । एताश्चतुर्दश ।
प्रपञ्चार्थं मया प्रोक्तं एकत्वं परिणामजे ॥

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It appears from the above passages of Çakti-saŋgama-Tantra, that the Çākta or Tāntrika cult was promulgated in order to effect harmony among the various jarring sects. The result was that all the sects began to worship the female energies of their own respective deities. Some accepted a few Çaktis, others accepted many. This is perhaps the reason of the great fellow-feeling between the Hindu and the Buddhist Çāktas as well as of the rites of the one being found in the Tantras of the other and *vice versa*.

Dr. Kern thus observes: " The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common. The object of Hindu Tantrism is the acquisition of wealth, mundane enjoyments, rewards for moral actions, deliverance, by worshipping Durgā, the Çakti of Çiva, Prajñā in the terminology of the Mahāyāna, through means of the spells, muttered prayers, Samādhi, offerings &c. Similarly the Buddhist Tantras purpose to teach the adepts how by a supernatural way to acquire desired objects, either of a material nature, as the elixir of longevity, invulnerability, invisibility, alchymy; or of a more spiritual character, as the power of evoking a Buddha or a Bodhisattva to solve a doubt, or the power of achieving in this life the union with some

प्रकृतं कथ्यते देवि शृणु सावहिता भव ।
चतुर्वेदमयी प्रोक्ता श्रीमहाभवतारिणी ।
अथर्ववेदाधिष्ठात्री श्रीमहाकालिका परा ॥
विना कालीं विना तारां नाथर्व्वणी विधिः क्वचित् ।
केरले कालिका प्रोक्ता काश्मीरे त्रिपुरा मता ॥
गौड़े तारेति संप्रोक्ता सैव कालीपरा भवेत् ।"
(शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्रे उत्तरभागे १म खण्डे ८म पटलः ।)

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divinity. There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side, and the system of Yoga Kammaṭṭhāna on the other."[1]

Later Tantras enumerate seven sub-sects among the Çāktas. Of these the Vedāchāra is found among the Marāṭhā Vaidikas, the Vaiṣṇavāchāra among the Vaiṣṇavas of the Rāmānuja school and those of Gauḍa, Dakṣiṇāchāra among the Çaivas of Çaŋkara school in the Deccan, Çaivāchāra and Vīrāchāra among the Vīra Çaivas or Liŋgāyats of the Deccan and the Vīrāchāra, the Vāmāchāra, the Siddhāntāchāra and the Kaulāchāra amongst the Çāktas of Kerala, Gauḍa, Nepāl and Kāmarūpa. As regards their relation to each other, it is found that the Vīrāchāra or Bauddhāchāra are condemned in the Tantras of the Vedāchāra, the Vaiṣṇavāchāra and the Dakṣināchāra schools, but they are praised in those of the other schools. At a later period the Āgama or the Tāntrika cult is said to have been first promulgated by Vāsudeva from whom, it passed on to Çiva and then to Pārvatī who became its active preachers.[2]

We have given above a brief history of the origin of Çāktaism in India. It will be found that Oriyan or Orissa was at one time one of the most important centres of Çāktaism. We now proceed to give an account of the relics of Çāktaism that are still found in those parts of Mayūrabhanjà which we had an opportunity of visiting.

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[1] Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 133.

[2] "आगतं शिववक्त्रात्तु गतन्तु गिरिजामुखम् ।
मतश्च वासुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ॥"

Quoted by Rāghava Bhatta in his Padārthādarça, Chap. 12.

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It is difficult to say when the influence of Hindu Tāntrikism first began to spread over Mayūrabhañja and the adjacent parts.

From a survey of the various places of Mayūrabhañja we come to this hypothesis that the Hindu and Buddhistic Tāntrikas lived there in perfect harmony for many centuries. The vast relics of sculptures found in Khiching, Ādipur and Benu-sāgar are traditionally believed to be those of the great temples and stone images of the Buddhists also of the Hindu temples made by the Emperor Çaçāṅka Narendra Gupta of Karṇa-Suvarṇa in the 7th century. He persecuted the Buddhist Tāntrikas but after his death the latter gradually regained their power and flourished till the 12th century A. D., the relics found in Ayodhyā attesting the ascendancy of these Buddhist Tāntrikas.

It appears from the genealogical books of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal that Hindu Tantrikism with the worship of Tāntrika gods and goddesses spread in Orissa through the efforts of Brāhmaṇas sent by Ballāla-sena, king of Gauḍa.[1] There is however, sufficient evidence to show that Mayūrabhañja and for matter of that many other places of Orissa afforded a field of action to the

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[1] The following passage occurs in the Vārendra-kula-pañjika :—

"पञ्चाशन्मगधे षष्टिर्भोटे षष्टिः रभाङ्के ।
चत्वारिंशदुत्कले च मोरङ्गेऽपि तथाङ्कः ॥"

i.e., [Ballala-Sena, King of Gauda, sent for the purpose of furthering his aim], fifty Brahmanas to Magadha, sixty to Bhotan, sixty to Rabhāngu or Chittagong and Arakan, forty to Orissa and forty to Maurunga or Nepal.

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Hindu Tāntrikas. We learn from the following stanza of Rasika-maŋgala that even three centuries ago, up to the reign of Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja (circa 1575 A.D.) Tantrikism was prevalent throughout Mayūrabhañja:—

"शैव शाक्त जीवहतना छाड़िलेन सव ।

भञ्जभूमे सर्व्वलोक हइला वैष्णव ॥"

(१६ लहरी)

"Çaivas and Çāktas all gave up killing of animals and the whole population of the kingdom of the Bhañjas became Vaiṣṇavas."

We have already stated briefly how the Çākta cult originated in India. Now we proceed to describe at the outset, those of the figures of the gods and goddesses which were enshrined by the Hindu Çāktas and which were discovered during the year in the course of our surveys.

There is a very old door-way facing the pedestal of the Liŋga (Liŋgavedi) in the temple of Maṇi-nāgeçvara near Bhīmapur. It once formed a part of the original temple which existed there before the present one was constructed. The beauty of the architecture is remarkable. In front of this door-way and above it is an image of the goddess Kamalā. Similar images are found inscribed on the ancient coins of the Gupta kings which shews that she was their tutelary deity. The worship of this goddess is certainly very ancient. In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki we find description of her, exactly as she is represented in these places (Sundarakāṇḍa, Chap. 7). The following direction for the making of this image is found in the Viçvakarma-Çilpa:— Kamala.

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"Lakṣmī is seated on a lotus-seat, has two arms, and has a golden colour. Her ears are encircled by prominent ear-rings which are bright with gold and jewels, and she has a lotus in (her) right hand and offers prosperity and power by (her) left hand. There are two women holding *chāmara* and snake on her two sides. Two elephants are to be seen with pitchers in their trunks and bathing (her).[1]

The figure of Kamalā mentioned above answers this description. (Fig. 29).

It is a noteworthy fact that images of this kind are found on the doorways of all the ancient temples at Khiching and adjacent places in Mayūrabhañja.* It appears from this that this goddess was the chief object of worship of some royal dynasties as also of the people at large.†

Bhima.

There is a very ancient image of the goddess Bhīmā (Fig. 30A) on the sea-side at Bhīmapur in the district of Balasor. She is known to the

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[1] "लक्ष्मी पद्मासनासीना द्विभुजा काञ्चनप्रभा ।
हेमरत्नोज्ज्वलोद्याम कुण्डलं कर्णमण्डलम् ॥
सुग्रीवकं सुरामार्गं कुञ्चितं पृथुविभ्रमात् ।
सुमण्डलामलमुखी कर्णपूराधरचर्चा ॥
पद्महस्ता दक्षिणा हस्ते वामे श्रीफलमिष्यते ।
चामरव्यालहस्ते च तत्पार्श्वे तु स्त्रिया उभौ ।
स्नापयन्तौ कुम्भहस्तौ हस्तिनौ च प्रदर्शयेत् ॥" (Chap. 8.)

* *Vide* Mayurbhanja Archl. Survey, Vol. II.

† Probably this goddess has been described as कलिङ्गनगरेश्वरी and मणिनागगता in the Rudrayamala Tantra (Chap. 54). Thus:—

"चन्द्रमणिसम्भूतिप्राप्ता कलिङ्गनगरेश्वरी ।
अतिभीलतरङ्गिणी गुप्तचक्राम्बिकात्मदा ।
मणिनागगता गंगा विनाशा नामसु स्थिता ॥"

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people as Kālikā. This image is placed in a picturesque tract of country, with forests bordering the sea-coast. Hindu Çāktas have been worshipping this goddess on the sea-coast from very ancient times. Yuang Chuang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, who saw an image of the goddess Bhīmā near the town of Po-lu-sha on the north-western frontiers, in the seventh century of the Christian era, gives the following description :—

"To the north-east of the city of Po-lu-sha, 50 *li* or so, we come to a high mountain, on which is a figure of the wife of Īçvara-Deva carved out of green (bluish) stone. This is Bhīmā Devī (Si-wung-mu of the Chinese). All the people of the better class, and the lower orders too declare that this figure was self-wrought. It has the reputation of working numerous miracles, and is therefore venerated by all, so that from every part of India men come to pay their vows and seek prosperity thereby. Both poor and rich assemble here from every part, near and distant. Those who wish to see the form of the divine spirit, being filled with faith and free from doubt after fasting seven days, are privileged to behold it, and obtain for the most part their prayers. Below the mountain is the temple of Maheçvara Deva ; the heretics who cover themselves with ashes come here to offer sacrifice."*

When in the year 636 A .D. the Chinese pilgrim was passing by A-yo-mu-ka between Ayodhyā and Prayāga, his boat was attacked by Thugs. His biographer writes thus :—"When these Thugs saw that the Chinese pilgrim was an

* Si-yu-ki, translated by Beal, Vol. I, pp. 113-114.

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30. Châmundâ *from* *Deogáo.*

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29. Kamalā *from Manināgeçvara.*



30A. Bhimā *from Bhimpur.*

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32. Nârasimhi *from Badasái.*



33. Gaurî *from Maninág.*



35. Vâgiçvarî *from Dhudhud.*

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31. Vârâhi *from Domagandarâ.*

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uncommonly fine-looking man, they decided to sacrifice him to their Durgā."*

The image of goddess Bhīmā at Bhīmapur is built of blue *mugni* stone. This tallies exactly with the description given by the Chinese pilgrim about thirteen centuries ago. The glory and powers of this goddess are spoken of by the people of the locality. Men come in numbers even now, from very remote places, to offer worship in this lonely spot on the sea-coast, with a view to obtain their cherished desires. Goats, sheep and buffaloes are sacrificed before the goddess. In ancient times human sacrifices were also offered to her.

This goddess presents an emaciated form like a skeleton, and has eight arms. She is seated on a lotus springing from the body of the god Hari, who wears on his head a crown. The head of the goddess is broken. There is another broken image of the goddess Bhīmā like the one mentioned above, lying in the outer courtyard of the temple of Maṇi-nāgeçvara near Bhīmapur. She is not worshipped now. The following instructions for meditating on Bhīmā may be found in the Kaŋkālamālinī Tantra :—

"I salute the great goddess Bhīmā, who has the colour of a blue lotus, who has well-developed high breasts, is seated on a seat over the sleeping body of Çrī Hari, has three eyes, is benign, has a *mudrā* and a sword in her hands, gives boon (*vara*) and assurance of safety (*abhaya*) [by her two other hands], wears a beautifully-coloured bright garment and who has [around

* *Vide* Watter's on Yuan Chuang. Vol. I, p. 360.

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her neck] a dangling precious necklace of Chandrakānta stone."[1]

Thus also in another place :—

"One should think of goddess Bhīmā as having the colour of a black cloud, having a sword, a conch-shell, a spear and a Khaḍga (a kind of sword) in her hands, having a rising moon on her head and three eyes, and looking as one who has defeated all enemies and who has the power of removing all troubles."[2]

The images of the goddess at Bhīmapur answer the description given in the two Tantras taken together. The Chinese pilgrim saw images of Bhīmā not only in India, but also in Khotan in Central Asia. He also found there a city called after her.* He speaks of her image as being made of "dark blue stone" and we have seen that in the Tantras too she is described as "having the colour of a blue lotus."†

The grim figure of the goddess Chāmuṇḍā in Deogāo (Devagrāma) used to inspire awe and fear among the people who worshipped it. This image Chamunda.

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1 "नीलेन्दीवरवर्णिनीं सुस्मापीनतुङ्गस्तनीम् ।
सुप्तश्रीहरिपीठराजितवतीं भीमां त्रिनेत्रां शिवाम् ।
मुद्राखड्गकरां वराभययुतां चित्राम्बरोद्दीपनीं
वन्दे चञ्चलचन्द्रकान्तमणिभिर्मालां दधानां पराम् ॥" (७मे पटल)

2 "कालाम्बुदाभामसिशङ्खशूलखड्गाढ्यहस्तां तरुणेन्दुचूडाम् ।
भीमां त्रिनेत्रां जितशत्रुवर्गां देवीं स्मरेदशान्तिभयदहाम् ।"
(सारदातिलक २२ पः)

* *Vide* Watter's on Yuan Chuang, Vol. II, p. 302.

† "This Bhīmā is Durgā and she is the Sri Mahādevi mentioned in Tibetan books as worshipped in this country." (Watters, II, p. 303.)

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and the sculptural workmanship of the remains of the temple, would appear to be seven or eight centuries old. (Fig. 30). The following direction for the meditation of the goddess may be found in the Sāradātilaka Tantra :—

'शूलं कृपाणं नृशिरः कपालं दधती करैः ।
मुण्डस्रङ्मण्डिता ध्येया चामुण्डा रक्तविग्रहा ॥" (६ प्रः)

"Chamuṇḍā is to be meditated upon as holding a spear, a sword, a human head and a skull in her hands, wearing a garland of heads and having a body of blood-red colour."

The above description speaks of only four hands. But the image of Deogāo mentioned above has eight. In the Viçvakarma-Çilpa however, we find instructions for making images of Chāmuṇḍā with eight, ten, twelve or sixteen hands.[1] The figure of Chāmuṇḍā found at Devagrāma is probably one of the forms of Bhīmā, the emaciated body disclosing a hideous skeleton with the bones and ribs all laid bare. The goddess is seated on a lotus issuing from the navel of Puruṣa. Over the head and back of the goddess rises the figure of Airāvata; on either side of her crown there is a serpent with uplifted hood. The arms of the goddess are broken. One of her hands holds a ḍamaru, another the akṣamālā (or a bead of strings), the third hand is stretched out in the act of giving protection (*abhaya*) and the last holds the head of a demon.

Varahi. Two different images of goddess Vārāhī, one of which is very large, have been found in

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[1] "अष्टौ दश दोर्दण्डे द्विषट्षोडशबाहुकैः ।
चामुण्डां कारयेत्तज्ज्ञः दारकासुरमर्द्दिनीम् ॥"

(Viçvakarma-Çilpa, Chap. 7).

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the village Ḍoma-gaṇḍarā. (Fig. 31). This goddess belongs to the group of seven Mātrikās. Though some portion of the aforesaid images are broken, they have not, altogether, lost their beauty. The images appear to be of great attraction and are evidently very ancient. The following description of the form of Vārāhī is found in Viçvakarma-Çilpa :—

" Vārāhī has got the face of a sow. She is dark like the clouds that portend destruction of the world. She has in her hands a conch-shell and a club. Her other two hands are stretched out in a posture of giving boons and protection. She has got tusks. She is very powerful. She wears a crown of bee-hive. She is clothed with a black garment, is bedecked with all sorts of ornaments. She has by her a *karanja* tree. She rides on a buffalo."[1]

The image we are here describing is represented as riding a buffalo and having four arms. But in other details it does not agree with the above description. Three of its hands are broken, so it cannot be said what they once held. The left upper hand, which, however, is still intact, clearly holds a *pâça*. This image is, therefore, quite distinct from the figure described in Viçvakarma-Çilpa. In Mantra-mahodadhi, we find the following description of Vārāhī :—

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[1] "वराहवक्त्रां वाराही प्रलयाम्बुदसन्निभाम् ।
शङ्खहस्तां वरदाभयदण्डकरान्विताम् ॥
सदंष्ट्रां तु महावीर्यां करण्डमुकुटोज्ज्वलाम् ।
कृष्णाम्बरधरां देवीं सर्वाभरणभूषिताम् ॥
करञ्जद्रुमसंयुक्तां महिषध्वजवाहिनीम् ॥" (७।२७-२८)

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"I meditate upon Vārāhī, whose colour is black like that of a cloud; whose breasts are beautiful, who has got three eyes; whose face is like that of a sow; who has a moon on her crest; holds the earth on her tusks; who holds in her hands a sword, a shield, a *pāça* and a goad; who rides on her own particular vehicle and who is adorned with good ornaments."[1]

The image of Ḍoma-gaṇḍarā, of which we are now speaking, appears to answer the above description.

Narasimhi.

The goddess Nārasiṁhī found at Baḍasāi has eight hands, in her three right hands she holds ghaṇṭā (bell), khaḍga (sword) and mace, the fourth gives protection, in her left three she holds vajra, shield, and pāça (noose); and the fourth gives blessing. (Fig. 32). This goddess is one of the eight great Çaktis. She is described in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa as the female energy of God in his Nṛsiṁha (man-lion) form.[2] She is further represented with a figure of Vārāhī below the right hand, and a small figure of Brāhmī below the left hand.

Gauri.

A beautiful figure of Gaurī is found in the Maṇināgeçvara. She has four hands of which however two are broken. (Fig. 33).

Mahis-mardini or Mahalaksmi

There is an image of goddess Mahiṣamardinī in Hariharapur, the former capital of Mayūrabhañja. Another image of this goddess is also

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[1] "मेघश्यामरुचिं मनोहरकुचां नेत्रत्रयोद्भासितां
कोलास्यां शशिशेखरां वसुधया दंष्ट्रातले शोभिनीम्।
बिभ्राणां स्वकराम्बुजैरसिलतां चर्माऽसिपाशं सृणिं
वाराहीमनुचिन्तये स्ववाहनारूढां शुभालंकृताम्॥" (१०।२८)

[2] "नारसिंही नृसिंहस्य बिभ्रती सदृशं वपुः।
प्राप्ता तत्र सटाक्षेपक्षिप्तनक्षत्रसंहतिः॥" (८८।१९)

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found in the village Baḍa Belākuṭi, six miles away from Baḍasāi. The former is known by the local people as Gaḍa Chaṇḍī and the latter as Budbār Chaṇḍī. Besides these, figures of Mahā-Lakṣmī have been found in Ayodhyā, Purāṇa-gāo and Kāniṣāhi. It is generally believed here that the image of Mahiṣamardinī at Haripur was worshipped at Haripurgaḍa up to the time of Rājā Harihara Bhañja. From this, the goddess came to be known as Gaḍa-Chaṇḍī. The worship of this goddess was probably discontinued from the time when Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Rasikānanda Thākura. That this goddess used to be worshipped by the Bhañja Rājās five or six centuries ago, however, admits of no doubt. The following instructions for meditating on Māhā-Lakṣmī or Mahiṣamardinī are found in Mantramahodadhi by Mahīdhara :—

"I worship Mahā-Lakṣmī, the slayer of the buffalo (demon), who holds in her hands a garland of akṣas, a battle-axe, a club, an arrow, a kuliça (thunderbolt), a lotus, a bow, a kamaṇḍalu (ascetic's water-pot), a stick, a çakti (a weapon), a shield, a conch-shell, a bell, a wine-cup, a spear, a *páça* (a noose used as a weapon) and a sudarçana (a disc used as a weapon); whose colour is red like that of *pravāla* and who was born out of the energy of the gods."[1]

A tradition is current to the effect that the face and some of the hands of the image of Mahā-

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[1] "अक्षस्रक्परशुगदेषुकुलिशं पद्मं धनुं कुण्डिकाम्
दण्डं शक्तिमसिञ्च चर्मजलजं घण्टां सुराभाजनम्।
शूलं पाश-सुदर्शने च दधतीं हस्तैः प्रवालप्रभाम्।
सेवे सैरिभमर्दिनीमिह महालक्ष्मीं सुरौजोद्भवाम्॥" (१८।१५

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Lakṣmī at Haripur were disfigured by Kālāpāhār, the great iconoclast. (Fig. 34). The other statues are smaller than this one. The lion is placed on the right of the images of Mahā-Lakṣmī mentioned above; but it stands on the left of the old images of the same goddess that we found at Vaṭeçvara, Çukleçvara, Jhāreçvara and other places, in the district of Cuttack. Of these, the image of Bhagavatī at Vaṭeçvara is believed by the people of the locality to be much older than that of the temple of Jagannātha. It is about seven feet high and made of black chlorite stone. So large an image of Mahā-Lakṣmī is to be found nowhere else in Orissa. (Fig. 35). "Mahālakṣmī plays an important part in the modern Çaiva and Tāntrika worship."[1] This goddess was once worshipped even in some remote islands of the Indian Ocean.[2]

Khichingeçvari.

Although the Rājās of Mayūrabhañja are now followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith, yet the goddess Khichingeçvarī, which belongs to the Çākta cult, is still the tutelary deity of the family. Khichingeçvarī is worshipped in the same manner as the goddess Vana-Durgā. But the worship of the latter does not accord with the description given below. In the Keunjhar and Nilgiri States where she is also worshipped, she has four arms. With her upper right hand she holds a *kartari* (a small dagger-like weapon), with her upper left she gives assurance of safety to her devotees, while with her two lower hands she is slaying a crowned prince with a sword. This image is enshrined in the palace of Bāripadā and worshipped by the Rājās themselves down to this day! It is made

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[1] Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Sastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Durbar Library, Nepal, p. lxix.

[2] J. Crawford's Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries, p. 57.

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of silver. The original site of this goddess was Khiching in Pāñchpīr. Among the people she goes by the name of "Kīchakeçvarī." Many believe that this image was established by the Vairāṭa Rājās.[1]

Pasa-Chandi or Rudra-Bhairavi.

The village Baḍasāi was at one time the chief centre of Tāntrika influence. Here men were sacrificed daily in the temple of Pāça-Chaṇḍī. There is a small tank by the side of this temple, within which, if properly searched, human skulls may still be found.[2] From the fact that human sacrifices were frequently offered here, the place subsequently came to be known by the name "Bali-muṇḍali." The image of Pāça-Chaṇḍī has now been removed to Bāripadā. The goddess, though known here as Pāça-Chaṇḍī, is called in the Tantras "Rudra-Bhairavī." (Fig. 37). The image corresponds in many respect to the hideous form of Chāmuṇḍā.

The following instructions for meditating on Rudra-Bhairavī are found in the Jñanārṇava Tantra :—

"[One should meditate upon] the goddess, bright as a thousand rising suns, having the moon on her crest, having three-eyes, beautifully decorated with various ornaments, destroyer of all enemies, killer of *mundalis* vomiting blood, wearing blood-red cloth, holding in her hands a trident, a *damaru*, a sword, a *khetaka* (a weapon), a *pinâka* (a weapon), arrows, a *pâça*

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[1] For a description of this goddess *vide* Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja, Vol. II.

[2] See Report of Badasai.

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34. Gada Chandi or Mahisa-mardini *from Haripur.*

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35. Mahâlaksmi *from Vateçvara.*

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and an *ankuca*, a book, and the rosary of *aksas* and seated on a dead body."[1]

The worship of the goddess Bhairavī was prevalent not only among the Hindu but also the Buddhistic çāktas. She is still worshipped by the Buddhists of Nepāl.[2]

Vagiçvari.

There is a hill called Ghāṭ-çila at Ḍhuḍhuā 5 miles to the south-west of the Pratāpapur Dak bungalow, and in a cave of that hill may be seen side by side the images of Vāgīçvarī and Gaṇeça. Both appear to be very ancient. Their workmanship has been worn out, and they are now neglected and without worshippers. But there is sufficient evidence to show that in ancient times the above-named goddess was worshipped both by the Buddhist and Hindu Tāntrikas. Another image of Vāgīçvarī is also found lying at the foot of a tree in village Tuṇḍarā near Bhīmapur in the district of Balasore. It is said that this image previously existed in a temple on the sea-side. But no trace of that temple is to be found now. This image also appears to be seven or eight centuries old. Images of the goddess are enshrined at the temples at Gaya and Benares, while her glory and powers are described in the Svayambhū Purāṇa and Kāçī-Khaṇḍa.[3] She

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[1] "उद्यद्भानुसहस्राभां चन्द्रचूड़ां त्रिलोचनाम् ।
नानालङ्कारसुभगां सर्व्ववैरिनिकृन्तनीम् ॥
वमद्रुधिरमुण्डालीकलितां रक्तवाससीम् ।
त्रिशूलं डमरुं खड्गं तथा खेटकमेव च ॥
पिनाकञ्च शरान् देवी पाशाङ्कुशयुगं क्रमात् ।
पुस्तकञ्चाक्षमालाञ्च शवसिंहासनस्थिताम् ॥"

[2] Dr. Oldfield's Nipāl. Vol. II. p. 199.

[3] Mahāmahopadhyāya H. P. Sāstri's Notices of Sanskrit Mss., belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Intro. p. lvii.

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is worshipped even in China, Japan and Tibet.[1] The following directions for meditating on the image are given in the Tantra :—

"मुक्ताकान्तिनिभां देवीं ज्योत्स्नाजालविकाशिनीम् ।
मुक्ताहारयुतां शुभ्रां शशिखण्डविमण्डिताम् ॥
बिभ्रतीं दक्षहस्ताभ्यां व्याख्यां वर्णस्य मालिकाम् ॥
अमृतेन तथा पूर्णं घटं दिव्यञ्च पुस्तकं ।
दधतीं वामहस्ताभ्यां पीनस्तनभरान्वितां ।
मध्ये क्षीणां तथा स्वच्छां नानारत्नविभूषितां ॥"

(तन्त्रसारधृत)

There are traces of old *chaityas* on both sides of the two above-mentioned images. (Fig. 36). It appears from this that at one time they were worshipped by the Buddhists.

MAHĀYĀNA OR BUDDHIST TĀNTRIKA INFLUENCE.

Numerous images of Bodhisattva and Çakti belonging to the Mahāyāna Tāntrika school of Buddhism have been discovered at Bāripadā, Hariharpur, Badasāi, Rāṇibāndh, and Khiching[2] in the Mayūrabhañja State, and at Ayodhyā and Dhupçilā in the Nilgiri States, on the borders of Mayūrabhañja and at several places in the Balasore district. So many relics of the Buddhist Tāntrika period have been found in these places and within so a short period, that it is but natural to hope that wonderful results will follow if the whole of Mayūrabhañja and its

[1] *Vide* A. Grünwedel's Buddhist Art in India, p. 45.

[2] For the Buddhist ruins at Khiching, see Archæological Survey Report of Mayurabhanja, Vol. II.

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adjacent places be thoroughly surveyed and explored. The principal deity worshipped by the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school is Avalokiteçvara or Padmapāni. Images of this deity have been found in Mayūrabhañja, Nilgiri and in several places of the district of Balasore. Avalokiteçvara was worshipped wherever Buddhism prevailed, from Russia to Cape Comorin and from Afghanistan to Cambodia, between the third and seventh centuries of the Christian era. Fifteen centuries ago Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school used to take the name of this deity at all times, both in prosperity and adversity, just as the Hindus of Bengal and Orissa take those of Durgā and Hari. The Chinese travellers, Fa Hian, Yuan Chuang and others, saw images of Avalokiteçvara at all the Buddhist places of pilgrimage in India including Afghanistan. Fa Hian records that in the fifth century A.D., every Buddhist of the Mahāyāna school in Mathurā and the Central Provinces used to worship Avalokiteçvara, Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjuçrī.* Yuang Chuang saw numerous images of Avalokiteçvara (Kuan-tzŭ-tsai) both in northern and southern India. The most remarkable of these was the silver one, ten feet high, situated on the western side of the Bodhi tree at Gayā.† The Chinese traveller observed in many places the image of Tārā on the left side of Avalokiteçvara and in several other places images of Avalokiteçvara and Tārā on the right and left sides respectively of Buddha.‡ Yuan Chuang in describing his visit

Avalokiteçvara.

* See Fo-kwo-ki, Ch. xvii.

† Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol II. p. 119.

‡ Beal's Si-yu-ki. Vol. II. p. 103.

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to Kanauj, writes thus about the Emperor Harṣa-vardhana :—

"When the ministers of state pressed Harṣa-vardhana to succeed his brother and avenge his murder, the narrative goes on to relate, the prince determined to take the advice of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara (Kuan-tzŭ-tsai). An image of this Bodhisattva, which had many spiritual manifestations, stood in a grove of this district near Ganges. To this he repaired, and after due fasting and prayer, he stated his case to the Bodhisattva. An answer was graciously given which told the prince that it was his good *karma* to become king, and that he should, accordingly, accept the offered sovereignty and then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa, and afterwards make himself a great kingdom. The Bodhisattva promised him secret help, but warned him not to occupy the actual throne, and not to use the title *Mahárája*. Thereupon Harṣa-vardhana became king of Kanauj with the title of Rājaputra and the style Çilāditya."*

About the images of Avalokiteçvara at Pauṇḍravardhana and Dhānyakaṭaka, the traveller gives the following description :—

"At Pauṇḍra-vardhana, nothing is hid from its divine desirement ; its spiritual perception is most accurate ; men far and near consult (this being) with fasting and prayers. * * * At Dhānyakaṭaka, masters of Çāṣtras recited Sin-to-lo-ni (Hṛidaya-dhāraṇī) in front of Avalokiteçvara abstaining from food and drink."†

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* Watter's On Yuan Chuang, Vol. I, p. 343.

† Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 195 and p. 221.

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37. Rudra-bhairavi *from* *Barsâi.*

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39 Chaturbhuja Lokeçvara *from Ayodhyá*,

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He saw numerous images of Avalokiteçvara at Nālandā. Regarding the image which he found in the middle of the monastery, the traveller writes:—"In the exact middle of the Vihāra is a figure of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai Bodhisattva. Although it is of small size, yet its spiritual appearance is of an affecting character. In its hand it holds a lotus flower; on its head is a figure of Buddha."* The images of Avalokiteçvara found at Rāṇibāudh in Mayūrabhañja and the large image brought from Kasbā to the Municipal office at Balasore are of the same description as that given by the Chinese traveller. The image of Padmapāṇī or of Avalokiteçvara in a sitting posture at Kasbā,† is the largest of those of Lokeçvara mentioned above. Its face is attractive and the architectural workmanship is also of a high order. But it is a matter of great regret that both its hands are broken. Only the upper part of the left arm and a lotus with its stem are intact. A figure of Amitābha on the crown of this image shows that it is a figure of Padmapāṇī Bodhisattva. Below the image is the figure of a devotee, and also some objects of worship. (Fig. 43).

At Ayodhyā in the Nilgiri States a four-armed image of Lokeçvara has been discovered. This measures 18″ by 10″ and has been kept in a small room in front of the temple of Mārīchī. Of the four arms only the right lower one, which is held in the posture of granting a boon, is intact. The first half of the right upper hand is unbroken and wears an ornament. The other two arms are completely gone. There is a small figure of Amitābha on its crown and on each

* Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II p. 183.

† This image is now kept before the Municipal office of Balasore.

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side a *chaitya*. On the right of the image stands Tārā with folded hands while on its left stands the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī. Below each of these goddesses are figures of female devotees worshipping with folded hands. In Mr. A. Foucher's book there is an image of Lokeçvara of this description (Fig. 19) bearing the words: "**दक्षिणापथे मूलवाष लोकनाथ.**"*

The image kept beside a field at Rāṇibandh is only 3½ feet in height. Though exposed to the weather, it is not yet altogether destroyed and the skill of the artist still remains in evidence. A very beautiful image of the goddess Tārā is to be seen on the left of this one. The Avalokiteçvara of Rāṇibandh is mentioned in Sādhanamālā Tantra as Kṣasarpaṇa Lokeçvara. The following description of this image is given in the book:—

"He has a body bright as a crore of moons; he has a crown of braided hair, having on it a figure of Amitābha; he is seated on a throne placed on the orb of a moon which is again placed on a lotus representing the universe; his body is adorned with all sorts of ornaments; he has a smiling face; his age is about sixteen years; he is giving boons with his right hand, and holds a lotus in his left; he is joyous after having drunk the nectar which is flowing from his hand; below him is situated Sūchīmukha, with uplifted face, having a large belly, very lean and black; he resides in the hill called Potālaka; his looks are kind and benign; he is worshipped with amorous rites; he has a quiet demeanor and many good marks on his body.

* *Vide* L'Iconographie Bouddhique par A. Foucher, Part I, p. 105, Pl. iv, no. 5.

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In front of him stands Tārā and on his right there is Sudhanakumāra. Tārā has a black colour, holding in her left hand a blue lotus with stem, which by her right hand she seems to unfold, is decorated with various ornaments and has breasts which are full-developed on account of her blooming youth. Sudhanakumāra stands with folded hands, his colour is as bright as gold, he has the look of a boy, has a book in his left arm-pit and is decorated with all sorts of ornaments. On the west is Bhṛkuṭī and on the north is Hayagrīva. Bhṛkuṭī is four-armed, is bright as gold, has braided hair, holds in her left hands a tridaṇḍī and a kamaṇḍalu, and one of her right hands has a rosary of akṣas, the other indicates a posture of prayer; she has got three eyes. Hayagrīva has a blood-red complexion; he is short (in stature); he has a large belly; his hair stands erect and is bright and tawny; he wears a sacred thread of snakes; his round face is covered with tawnier beard and he has got three eyes which are round and red; his eye-brows are contracted on account of an expression of anger; he wears a garment of tiger-skin, and holds a club; the right hand stretched in a posture of prayer. All these (attendants) occupy elegant positions with their eyes turned towards the face of their leader."[1]

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1 "हिमकरकोटीकिरणावदातं देहमुद्वजटामुकुटममिताभकृतशेखरं विचि-
त्रवसनविचित्रमणिमयांशुकं पर्य्यङ्कनिषण्णं सकलालङ्कारधरं स्मेरमुखं षोडशवर्ष-
देशीयं दक्षिणेन वरदकरं वामकरेण सनालकमलधरं करविगलत्पीयूषधारा-
व्यवहारसूचकं तदधःसमारोपितोर्द्ध्वमुखं महाकुक्षिमतिकृशमतिदीर्घं सूची
मुखं तत्पर्य्यन्तं पीयूषपानलालसोदरनिवासिनं करुणास्निग्धावलोकनं प्रत्यार-
ब्धपर्य्युपासितमतिप्रान्तं नानालङ्कारालङ्कृतं। तस्य पुरतस्तारा दक्षिणपार्श्वे सुधन-
कुमारः। तत्र तारा श्यामा वामकराधिकृतसनालोत्पला दक्षिणकरेण विकासयन्ती
नानालङ्कारवती अभिनवयौवनोद्भिन्नकुचभारा। सुधनकुमारश्च कृताञ्जलिपुटः

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There is a similarity in almost every respect between the image of Āryāvalokiteçvara referred to and the description of Kṣasarpaṇa given in the Sādhanamālā Tantra. The image of Tārā however, differs slightly from the description quoted above. In both places, we find the latter standing with folded hands. The upper part of the image of Hayagrīva is broken (Fig. 20).

A beautiful and well-polished image of Lokeçvara made of black stone has been found in the temple of Buḍā Jagannātha at Bāripadā, the present chief town of the Mayūrabhañja State. The image is known by the people of the place as Ananta Deva.[1] But, it is in fact, an image of the four-armed god Lokeçvara worshipped by the Buddhist Tāntrikas of the Mahāyāna school and afterwards by the Hindus. It must have been constructed and placed at the time when Buddhism was predominant here. At a later period when Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja had the temple of Jagannātha built with the materials of the ancient broken Buddhist structures, the image might have found a place in that temple. The deity is shown in a standing posture. His crown is surrounded with braided hair. In his upper right hand he holds a rosary

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कनकाभमालिमूर्तिः कुमाररूपधारी वामकरधृतपुस्तकः सकलालङ्कारवान्। दक्षिणे भृकुटी, हयग्रीव उत्तरे। तत्र भृकुटी चतुर्भुजा हेमप्रभा जटामुकुटिनी वामे त्रिदण्डी कमण्डलुधारिणी दक्षिणे वन्दनाभिनयाक्षसूत्रधरकरा त्रिनेत्रा। हयग्रीवो रक्तवर्णः खर्वो लम्बोदर ऊर्ध्वज्वलत् पिङ्गलकेशो भुजङ्गयज्ञोपवीती कपिलतरश्मश्रुरोषविस्फारितमुखमण्डलो रक्तवर्तुलत्रिनेत्रो भृकुटीकुटिलभ्रूको व्याघ्रचर्माम्बरो दण्डायुधो दक्षिणकरेण वन्दनाभिनयो। एते सर्व एव स्वनायकाननप्रेरितदृष्टयो यथाशोभमवस्थिताः।"

[1] But this image has no resemblance to the description of Ananta Deva found in the Puranas or Tantras.

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of akṣas and in his upper left a conch-shell. His lower right hand is placed over the head of Sudhanakumāra and his lower left over that of the goddess Tārā. The following description of this god will be found in the well-known work on architecture Viçvakarma-Çilpa :—

"God Lokeçvara has four arms and three eyes. He has braided hair, on which there is a moon. His ornaments consist of snakes. He is white in complexion. He gives boons and encouragement with two of his hands, while with the other two he holds a rosary of akṣas and a kamaṇḍalu. He is seated on a lotus under the Bodhi tree."[1]

In this description the god is represented as seated, whereas the image which we have referred to shows him in a standing posture. In the above treatise on architecture Sudhana-kumāra and Tārā, the constant companions of Avalokiteçvara, are not mentioned. Tārā is a well-known female figure in the Buddhist pantheon and several writers on Buddhism are of opinion "that she was originally a Tibetan goddess worshipped by the followers of the Yogāchāra school."[*] But according to Svatantra Tantra :—

"Tārā Nīla-sarasvatī was born on the banks of Lake Cholana on the western side of Meru (Pamir)."[2]

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[1] 'चतुर्भुजं त्रिनेत्रञ्च चन्द्राङ्कितजटाधरः ।
सर्वाभरणसंयुक्तः श्वेतवर्णः लोकेश्वरः ॥
वरदाभययुक्तञ्च अक्षमालाकमण्डलुः ।
पद्मासनयुतो देवो बोधिवृक्षसमाश्रितः ॥"

Viçvakarmaçilpa MS. of Viçvakoṣa Office Collection, p. 28a.

* Eitel's Hand-book, and the Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, p. 273.

[2] 'मेरोः पश्चिमकूले तु चोलनाख्यो ह्रदो महान् ।
तत्र यज्ञे स्वयं तारा देवी नीलसरस्वती ॥"

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According to Chīnāchāra Tantra, the goddess Tārā was originally worshipped in China. It describes how Vasiṣṭha went to China and learnt from Buddha, the process of the Tārā worship. We have already mentioned this in connection with the origin of Çāktaism. In Tibet and Mongolia, Tārā is worshipped as the spiritual consort of Kuan-yin (Avalokiteçvara).*

Tara. Besides the figure of Tārā (Mahattarī Tārā of Bauddha-Kalpa) at Rāṇibāndh some other images of Tārā have also been found at different places. One, known as Khadirāvanī Tārā, has been traced at the village of Dhūpaçilā, six miles from Nilgiri. Another known as Jāŋgulī Tārā has been discovered among the ruins of Hariharpur. A third image known as Vajra-Tārā, may be seen in the temple of Uttareçvara Mahādeva at Ayodhyā.

We find the following description of the goddess Tārā in the Svatantra Tantra :—

"She is black in complexion; she has three eyes; she has two hands with one of which she holds a lotus and with the other she gives boons; she is surrounded by Çaktis having various colours and forms; she has a smiling face; she is adorned with bright pearls; her feet are put in shoes set with jewels. She is to be meditated upon in this form."[2]

In the Buddhistic work called Sādhanamālā-Tantra, Mahattarī Tārā is thus described :—

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* Watter On Yuan Chuang. Vol. II. p. 107.

[2] "श्यामवर्णां त्रिनयनां द्विभुजां वरपङ्कजे ।
दधानां बहुवर्णाभिर्नेकरूपाभिरावृताम् ॥
शक्तिभिः स्मेरवदनां स्मेरमौक्तिकभूषणाम् ।
रत्नपादुकयोर्न्यस्तपादाम्बुजयुगां स्मरेत् ॥"

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"Tārā is to be meditated upon as having a black complexion, and two hands, giving in her right-hand boons and holding with the left a lotus with the stem, and is decorated with all sorts of ornaments and seated on a throne placed on a lotus and moon."[1]

Arya-Tara.

As the image of Tārā found at Rāṇibāndh corresponds with the description of the goddess given above; so we consider it to be an image of Mahattarī or Ārya Tārā.

About fifteen centuries ago, the worship of Tārā, like that of Avalokiteçvara, was prevalent among Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school in India. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang witnessed in various places the worship of Tārā celebrated with great pomp and splendour. All Indian Buddhists used to adore her with special reverence. Yuan Chuang found at Nālandā a large image of Tārā; he thus describes it:—

"To the north of a figure of Buddha—2 or 3 li, in a vihara constructed of brick, is a figure of Tārā Bodhisattva. This figure is of great height, and its spiritual appearance very striking. Every fast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days."*

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[1] "तारां श्यामां द्विभुजां दक्षिणे वरदां वामे सनालेन्दीवरधरां सर्व्वाभरणभूषितां पद्मचन्द्रासने पर्य्यङ्कासिनीं विचिन्तयेत्।"

* Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 175.

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Figures of the goddess Tārā have been found not only in India, but also in Java, Sumatra, and other islands in the Indian Ocean. Tārā, though originally a Buddhistic goddess, has been from ancient times receiving worship from the Hindu Tāntrikas as the second of the ten Mahāvidyās. It is clear from the Chīnāchāra-Tantra that the Hindus learnt Tārā-worship from the Buddhists. It appears that, similarly many gods and goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon gradually came to be worshipped by the Hindu Tāntrikas. These gods and goddesses are still worshipped by them.

Janguli-Tara.

It has already been mentioned that an image of Jāŋgulī Tārā was discovered in the midst of the ruins of the ancient fort at Hariharpur. People now give it the name of Koṭāsanī or Koṭavāsinī. It derived its name Jāŋgulī Tārā from the fact that Buddhist Çramaṇas of the Mahāyāna school, who lived in this retired place, used to worship the image. In the Buddhistic Tāntrika work called Sādhanamālā, we find mention of two forms of Jāngulī Tārā, one two-armed and the other four-armed. We also find in the book the following description of her:—

"One should meditate on (Jāŋgulī Tārā) who is white in complexion; she has two or four arms; and wears a crown of braided hair; she has white garments and white ornaments, is decorated with white serpents, is seated on a throne of *sattva*; plays on Vīṇā by her main hands, holds with her second right hand a white snake and gives protection with the left; she is surrounded with a halo like that of moon."[1]

[1] "शुक्लवर्णां द्विभुजां चतुर्भुजां वा जटामुकुटिनीं शुक्लांशुकोत्तरीयां सितालङ्कारवतीं शुक्लसर्पैर्भूषितां सत्त्वपर्य्यङ्कासनासीनां मूलभुजाभ्यां वीणां वादयन्तीं द्वितीयवामदक्षिणभुजाभ्यां सितसर्पाभयमुद्राधरां चन्द्रांशुमालिनीं भावयेत् ।"

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43. Padmapâni Bodhisattva.



44. Arya-Târâ *from Rânibândh.*



47. Jânguli Târâ.

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45. Vajra-Târâ *from Ayodhyâ.*

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The image of Koṭāsanī is two-armed. Its workmanship is not of a high order; this may perhaps be due to the fact that it was made by Çramaṇas living in the forest. The image from its outward look appears to be very ancient. The goddess is supposed to have been worshipped by the Çramaṇas of the Mahāyāna sect when they used to reside in this part of the country. Afterwards, when the fort was constructed here, the people of the locality began to worship her as its "Koṭāsanī" or Guardian deity of the fort. The goddess, however, is not worshipped by any higher-class people. Poor *Dehuris* of the Bāthuri or Bhumiyā caste in the village occasionally give offerings to her.

Several broken images of Ārya Tārā and Jāṅgulī Tārā have been found near Khiching in the Pānchpīr sub-division of Mayūrabhañja.*

Vajra Tara. It has been mentioned above that an image of Vajra-Tārā was found in the temple of Uttareçvara Çiva at Ayodhyā in the Nilgiri States. People call her by the name of "Chaṇḍī Thākurāṇī." This image was discovered amongst the vast ruins of ancient Buddhistic structures at Ayodhyā, and afterwards placed in the above temple. The following description of her is given in the Buddhistic Tantrik work called "Sādhana Samuchchaya":—

"Goddess Tārā should be meditated upon as situated in the midst of the Mātrikās (divine mothers), having eight arms and four faces, decorated with all sorts of ornaments, having the colour of gold, looking benign, and shewing the features of a maiden, seated on a moon placed on

* For particulars of these Taras *vide* Mayurabhanja Archæological Survey, Vol. II.

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a lotus representing the universe, having faces of yellow, black, white and red complexion consecutively from left to right; having three eyes in each face; she is seated on a diamond throne, has a red-coloured body, having on her crowns the four Buddhas, and holding in her right hands a *vajra*, an arrow, a conchshell and *vara*, and in her left hands a lotus bow, diamond goad, a diamond *pâça*, and with the fore-finger of the other left hand she points above."[1]

The workmanship of the figure is admirable. Another image of Tārā has been found in the temple of Maṇināgeçvara at Purāṇagäo in the Nilgiri States. This image is known both in the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras as that of Kurukullā. The Sādhanamālā Tantra of Nepal gives the following description of the goddess:—

"Her colour is red, she is seated on a red lotus, wears a red garment and a red crown, has four arms, gives assurance of protection with one of the right hands and holds an arrow with the other, holds a quiver of jewels with one of left hands and with the other an arrow of buds of red lotus set on a bow of flowers which is drawn up to the ear."[2]

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[1] "नाभिमण्डलमध्यस्थां तारादेवीं विभावयेत् ।
अष्टबाहुं चतुर्वक्त्रां सर्वालङ्कारभूषिताम् ॥
कनकवर्णाभां भव्यां कुमारीलक्षणोज्ज्वलाम् ।
विश्वपद्मासनासीनचन्द्रासनसुसंस्थिताम् ॥
पीतकृष्णसितरक्तसव्यावर्त्तचतुर्मुखाम् ।
प्रतिमुखं त्रिनेत्रञ्च वज्रपर्य्यङ्कसंस्थिताम् ॥
रक्तप्रभां चतुर्बुद्धमुकुटीं वज्रशरशङ्खवरदविपक्षसव्यकराम् ।
उत्पलचापवज्राङ्कुशवज्रपाशतर्ज्जनीवामसव्यकराम् ॥"

[2] "रक्तवर्णां रक्तपद्मासनां रक्ताम्बरां रक्तकिरीटवतीं चतुर्भुजां सव्येऽभयप्रदां अन्येन समापूरितशरं वामेकेन रत्नतूणधरां अपरेण चाकर्णाकृष्टरक्तोत्पल-कलिकाशरविराजितकुसुमचापधराम् ।"

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Kurukulla. It is to be regretted that both the right arms of the image are broken. The goddess can now be identified from her left arms. (Fig. 27).* The image found at Dhūpaçilā, although much damaged, shows admirable skill in sculptural and decorative art, and resembles that of Tārā discovered in Magadha.†

Manjucri. The worship of Mañjuçrī and Maitreya Bodhisattva like that of Avalokiteçvara and Tārā was very prevalent among the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school. This fact is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Fā-Hian. Images of the deities have also been found at Ayodhyā. On the right side of the image of Mārīchī Thākurāṇī, the present tutelary goddess of Ayodhyā, is a figure of Mañjuçrī and on her left, one of Avalokiteçvara. These images were discovered about fifty years ago amongst the ruins at Ayodhyā. The figure stands on a lotus. Over the head of the image of Mañjuçrī and on both sides there are figures of Vidyādharas. Below these and on either side of the head of the central figure, are figures of Kinnarīs. The central figure has two arms. The left hand which holds a lotus is placed on the breast. On the right side, is the image of Sudhanakumāra, also standing on a lotus. He points to heaven with the fore-finger of his right hand. There is a book under his left arm which is placed over his thigh. Beside that there is a lotus with its stem. On the left side of the central figure, is an image of Yamāri standing on a bull. There are serpents on its head and arms. It holds up the fore-finger of the right hand and in the left hand

* Compare with the figure of Tārā in Foucher, Part I, p. 136, Fig 22.

† See Foucher, Part I, p. 136, Fig. 22.

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has a mace. On the right side of Sudhanakumāra and on the left of Yamāri, there is a lion on an elephant. Lower down on the right side, are the images of the four Çaktis Lochanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā and further down is the figure of a female devotee with offerings in her hands. This image of Mañjuçrī is 3′4″ × 2′3″.

The following description of Mañjuçrī is found in the Sādhanamālā Tantra:—

"One should meditate upon his self as having a yellow complexion, with the mystic representation of the hand held in a posture of explanation, decorated with jewelled ornaments, wearing a jewelled-crown, having in the left arm a lotus, seated on lion and having on the crown a figure of Akṣobhya. On his right is Sudhanakumāra, who is born of Sukāra-vīja, is bright with ornaments of various kinds, has a crown of jewels, holds under his arms a book of all religions and stands with his hands folded. On the left, there is Yamāri who is of darker complexion, is born of Hūŋkāra-vīja, has a deformed face, and a mace in his hands, has hair which are tawny and upright, and is decorated with various ornaments. Then, on his right and left sides, there are Chandraprabha and Sūryaprabha. In the four directions there are Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amogha-siddhi and in the four corners (*e. g.* Āgneya &c.) there are Lochanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā."*

---

* "पीतवर्णं व्याख्यानमुद्राधरं रत्नभूषणं रत्नमुकुटिनं वामेनोत्पलं सिंहासनस्थं अक्षोभ्याक्रान्तमौलिनं भावयेत् आत्मानम्। ततो दक्षिणपार्श्वे सुकारबीजसम्भवः सुधनकुमारश्च नानारत्नाभरणोज्ज्वलो रत्नमुकुटो सर्व्वधर्म्मैकपुस्तककक्षितः सम्पुटाञ्जलिपूर्व्वकान्तिष्ठेत्। वामपार्श्वे यमारिः कृष्णवर्णो हुंकारबीजोद्भवो विकृताननो मुद्गरहस्तः पिङ्गलोर्द्धकेशो नानाभरणभूषितः। ततो दक्षिणोत्तरपार्श्वे चन्द्रप्रभ-

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48. Manjuçri *from Ayodhyā.*

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46. Kurukullâ *from Purângdo.*

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49. Māṛichī *from Ayodhyā.*

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50 Battali *from Ayodhyá.*

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The above description to a great extent resembles the form of Mañjuçrī. "He was one of the great Bodhisattvas, often figuring as first or chief of all these Mahāyāna creation."* He is the tutelary Bodhisattva of Nepal, and is revered there by the Buddhist community more than any other deity.† Mañjuçrī was once worshipped throughout the Buddhist world from Corea to Java. He is still worshipped by the Buddhists of China, Japan, Tibet and other places.‡

Marichi.

Images of Mārīchī have been found at Khiching in Mayūrabhañja, and at Ayodhyā and Sujanāgarh in the Nilgiri States. She is known at Khiching as Chaṇḍī Thākuranī, at Ayodhyā as Marichī Thākuraṇī and at Sujanāgarh as Budhār Chaṇḍī. The image at Khiching is of a different type from those found at Ayodhyā and Sujanāgarh, the latter two being of the same type§ The following description of Mārīchī is found in the Sādhanamālā Tantra :—

"She is white in complexion, has three faces, three eyes and eight arms. Her face on the right side is red and on the left is blue, distorted and like that of a sow. She holds in her right hands a *vajra*, a goad, an arrow and a *sūchi* and in her left hands açoka-leaves, a bow, a *sūtra* with an uplifted fore-finger. She has on her crown (a figure of)

सूर्य्यप्रभौ । पूर्व्वादिदिग्विभागेषु वैरोचनरत्नसंभवामिताभामोघसिद्धयः आग्नेयादि-कोणेषु लोचना-मामकी-पाण्डरा-तारा इति ।"

* *Vide* Watters, On Yuan Chuang, Vol. I, p. 304.

† Dr. Oldfield's Nipal.

‡ A. Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India. pp. 200-201.

§ For the Marichi of Khiching, *vide* Archæological Survey of Mayurabhanja. Vol. II.

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Vairochana. She is decorated with various ornaments and seated in the midst of a *chaitya*. She wears a scarlet under-garment, jacket and scarf. She rides on a chariot drawn by seven boars. She is standing with her one foot doubled and the other foot stretched (in the attitude of an archer about to shoot an arrow). She is placed in the middle of a chariot which is carried on with the awfully terrible Rāhu about to devour the sun and moon, which are produced from *Hang-kâra*, and situated in the atmosphere produced from *Pang-kâra*. She is surrounded by four goddesses. On her eastern side there is goddess Battālī, who has a red colour, has the face of a sow, has four arms, holds in her right hands a *súchi* and a goad and in her left hands *pâça* and *açoka* and wears a red jacket. On her southern side there is goddess Vadālī who is yellow-coloured, holds in her two right hands a *súchi* and a *vajra* and in her two left hands *açoka* and a *pâça*, has the form of a maiden and is decorated with the ornaments befitting her blooming youth. On her western side, there is Varālī, who is white-coloured, holds in her right hands a *vajra* and *súchi* and in her left hands a *pâça* and *açoka*, stands with her one foot doubled and her other foot stretched and has a beautiful form. On her northern side, there is Varāhamukhī, the red-coloured goddess who has three eyes and four arms, and who holds in her right hands a *vajra* and an arrow and in her left hands a bow and *açoka* and has a bright form. Having meditated upon all these, &c."[1]

---

[1] "हृद्यं पीताङ्कारं ध्यात्वा तद्विनिर्गतरश्मिनिबद्धैराकाशे समाकृष्य भगवतीं मध्ये स्थापयेत् ।—गौरीं त्रिमुखीं त्रिनेत्रामष्टभुजां, रक्तदक्षिणमुखीं नील-विकृतवामवराहमुखीं, वज्राङ्कुशशरसूचीधारिदक्षिणकरां अशोकपाशचापसूत्रतर्जनी-

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The description which we have quoted above from the Buddhist Tāntrika work already referred to, corresponds with the images found at Ayodhyā and Sujanāgarh. (Fig. 49). These figures may safely be taken to be those of Mārichī. The image at Ayodhyā is large, about 3′ 6″ high, while that at Sujanāgarh is only a cubit in height. Over the image at Ayodhyā the following well known Buddhistic formulæ are found inscribed :—

	Right side.	Left side.
L. 1.	ओँ ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा	हेतु तेषां तथागतो
L. 2.	ह्यवदत्तेषां च यो	निरोधो एवं वादी श्रीमहा
L. 3.	श्रवण:	

The characters used in the inscription resemble those prevalent in northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. (Fig. 49*a*). From this we suppose that this image and similar other Buddhistic images of Ayodhyā belong to that period. In all likelihood the image at Sujanāgarh also belongs to the same period. The Rājas of Nilgiri are Hindus. But they have been worshipping the above-mentioned Buddhistic goddess from very ancient times. The goddess at Sujanāgarh known as Budhāra Chaṇḍī or Buddhist Chaṇḍī referred to above is everywhere known to be the tutelary deity of the

धरवामचतु:करां वैरोचनमुकुटिनीं नानाभरणवतीं चैत्यगर्भस्थितां रक्ताम्बरकञ्चु-कोत्तरीयां सप्तशूकररथारूढ़ां प्रत्यालीढ़पदां यंकारजवायुमण्डले रंकारजचन्द्रसूर्य-वाहिमण्डोपरि हुंकारमधिष्ठितमरयमध्यां देवीं चतुष्पदपरिवृतां तत्र पूर्व्वदिशि वर्त्तालीं रक्तां वराहमुखीं चतुर्भुजां कृष्णसूचीपाशादिविद्धहस्तां पाशाशोकधारिवामहस्तां रक्तकञ्चुकोज्ज्वलेति। तथा दक्षिणे वदालीं पीताशोकसूचीवामदक्षिणभुजां वज्रपाश-दक्षिणवामकरां कुमारीरूपिणीं सत्त्वोन्मादकारिणीं। तथा पश्चिमे वरालीं शुक्लां वज्रसूचीबद्धदक्षिणभुजां पाशाशोकधरवामकरां प्रत्यालीढ़पदां शुक्लपिणींवेति। तथोत्तरदिग्भागे वराहमुखीं रक्तां त्रिनयनां चतुर्भुजां वज्रशरबद्धदक्षिणकरां चापा-शोकधरवामकरां दिव्यरूपिणीं ध्यात्वा।”

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Nilgiri Rājās. It seems from this that this family had also embraced Buddhist faith in times past.

Besides these, images of Sita Mārīchī, Uḍḍiyāna Mārīchī and Açokāntā Mārīchī have been discovered in the Pauch-pir Sub-division of Mayūrabhanja. As they are found lying outside the limits of Mayūrabhanja proper, I refrain from giving an account of them here.*

In front of the image of Mārīchī at Ayodhyā, there is another beautiful image which displays great architectural skill and decorative art. It is about one cubit and a half in height and has the face of a sow and four arms, and is known to the people of the place as an image of goddess Vārāhī. But the figure does not in all respects resemble the goddess Vārāhī, as she is described in the Hindu Tantras. It appears to us to be the image of a different goddess. The following is a description of goddess Battālī given in Sādhanakalpalatā :—

"Battālī has a red colour, has the face of a sow, and has four arms, holds a *sūchi* and a goad in her right hand and a *pāça* and *açoka* in her left hands, wears a scarlet jacket, stands with her left foot doubled and right foot stretched (like an archer) and has a beautiful form."[1] **Battali.**

The above-mentioned four-armed goddess completely resembles the form described in the sentence quoted. We, may therefore, take it to be an image of Battālī, an attendant of Mārichī. This goddess is called Bārttālī in the Hindu Tantras. The following description

* See Vol. II of the Report for detailed account.

[1] "वत्ताली रक्ता वराहमुखी चतुर्भुजा सूच्यङ्कुशधारिदक्षिणहस्ता पाशाशो-कधारिवामहस्ता रक्तकंचुकी प्रत्यालीढपदा सुरूपिणी चेति।"

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of her is given in the Mantramohodadhi by Mahīdhara :—

"I salute Bārttālī, who holds in her lotus hands a mace and a plough and gives protection and boons with the remaining hands, has got beautiful breasts, wears red garment and has three eyes and the face of a sow."[1]

Dharma

In the fifth century of the Christian era, Dharma, one of the Buddhistic trinity, came to be represented in the form of a goddess. A female form of Dharma similar to the above, has been discovered near the Mahā-bodhi. Such forms are also found in all Buddhistic Chaityas in Nepal. An image of Dharma has also been found at Baḍasāi. (Fig. 52). The Buddhist Newars worship Dharma as a goddess, under the names of Ādi Dharma, Prajñā Pāramitā, Dharma Devī, Ārya Tārā and Gayeçvarī.

Citala.

In every *chaitya* in Nepal, wherever an image of Dharma is enshrined, there stands invariably a figure of Hāritī or Çītalā. At Baḍasāī even, close to the small *chaitya*, in which is enshrined the image of Dharma, a figure of Çītalā has been found. Referring to the Çītalā found in the Buddhist Nepal, Dr. Oldfield writes:—"The goddess Çītalā was universally believed to afford necessary protection to all those who sought her aid. The Buddhists accordingly recognised her divinity and besought her protection. They... erected a temple to her honour beneath the very shadow of the temple of Ādi Buddha at Sambhunāth. It is annually visited by thousands of Buddhists as well as of Hindus."*

---

[1] "हस्ताब्जे मुषलं हलाभयवरान् संविभ्रतीं सत्कुचाम् ।
वार्त्तालीमरुणाम्बरां त्रिनयनां वन्दे वराहाननाम् ॥" (१०।७२)

* *Vide* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol, II. p. 236.

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There is something peculiar about the image of Çitalā found at Badsāi. While the right lower half of her body is decorated with ornaments, the left half is devoid of any, and almost nude. She holds a besom in her right hand and a pitcher in the left. Over her head she holds a *sūrpa* (winnowing-basket). Behind her is a donkey. The following description of her is given in the Tantras:—

"I worship Çītalā of white complexion, who rides on a donkey, holds a besom and a full pitcher in her hands, and is sprinkling nectar from the pitcher with the help of the besom for the purpose of soothing burning pains; who is nude, holds a winnowing basket over her head, and is decorated with (ornaments of) gold and jewels; and who has three eyes, and is the soother of all terrible burning pains arising out of small-pox and similar other diseases."[1]

In the above verses Çītalā is described as being nude. But the image at Badsāi is partially draped. She is known by the people as the goddess Kālikā. *Dehuris* belonging to the Bāthuri or some other very low caste now perform the pūjā of this goddess. (Fig. 51).

Besides the Buddhist relics referred to above, there is a miniature Chaitya at Badsāi known as Chandrasenā.* (Fig. 53). This is worshipped by the local people. Chandra Sena.

[1] "वों श्वेताङ्गीं रासभस्थां करयुगविलसन्मार्जनीपूर्णकुम्भां
मार्जन्या पूर्णकुम्भादमृतमयजलं तापशान्त्यै क्षिपन्तीम्।
दिग्वस्त्रां मूर्ध्नि सूर्पां कनकमणिगणैर्भूषिताङ्गीं त्रिनेत्रां
विस्फोटाद्युग्रतापप्रशमनकरीं शीतलां त्वां भजामि॥"

* In the latter part of "Moderu Buddhism and its followers," we have dwelt on it at some lengtb.

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LATER VAIṢṆAVA INFLUENCE.

Slowly and steadily was Buddhism supplanted by Hinduism everywhere. The exalted but abstruse dogmas of Buddhism were replaced by the sweet religion of love and faith. This change in religious thought was cordially welcomed by the people at large. In Behar, the original seat of Buddhism, in Bengal, where this faith lingered longer than anywhere else, and even in Orissa, this change was marked. Throughout the last place Vaiṣṇava influence became predominant. It was not the ancient Vaiṣṇavism so ably propounded by Rāmānuja on the lines of Vedānta philosophy, on which we have already dwelt at some length, but the Vaiṣṇavism of the sixteenth century as it flourished in Bengal and made the greatest impression upon Utkala. Here the memory of Çrī Chaitanya, the founder of this faith, is cherished with the greatest reverence by millions, who consider him to have been the greatest incarnation or Avatāra of God and identical with Jagannātha, the presiding deity of the province. Here, in every important village, the image of Çrī Chaitanya is worshipped along with that of Jagannātha and Dadhivāmana. Every evening his name is chanted and the sacred literature of the Vaiṣṇavas, chiefly contributed to by his disciples, is read out and explained to the masses by the Gurus or religious preceptors, in a spirit of fervent devotion.

Although in Bengal which was the birth-place of this new creed of love, the Vaiṣṇava leaders embodied their emotional faith in philosophical dogmas, yet this new Vaiṣṇavism had a stronger hold on Utkala. In Bengal it could not attain to an equally widespread popularity owing to

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the opposition offered by the people of the Çākta-cult.

Great has been the influence exercised by Vaiṣṇavism on the minds of the people—so much so that it has even penetrated into the innermost recesses of the country. To be able to understand this we should begin by giving a brief account of the life and teachings of Çrī Chaitanya, the God-man of Nadia, who, as already indicated, founded Vaiṣṇavism on altogether a new basis.

On the 18th February of the year 1486, corresponding to the Çaka era 1407, Çrī Chaitanya was born at Navadvīpa. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas reckon the commencement of the Chaitanya era from this date. In the year 1510, corresponding to 1431 of the Çaka era, and in his twenty-fourth year, he renounced the world and entered upon the holy order of Sannyāsins. From that day he became known in history as Çrīkṛṣṇa-Chaitanya or simply Çrī Chaitanya.

On taking the vow of an ascetic, his first act was to set out for Orissa with a view to visit the Puri temple. The connection of his family with Utkala is of a much earlier date. It is stated in old records that his ancestors were formerly residents of Jājpur from which place they migrated to Sylhet, owing to the oppression of Rājā Bhramaravara. From the latter place, his father Jagannātha Miçra came to and settled at Nadia. Having visited Hariharapur, Nīlagaḍa, Remuṇā and Balasore, Çrī Chaitanya came to Jājpur in 1510 A.D. where Kamala-nayana Miçra, a scion of the family to which he belonged, was still living. While at Jājpur, Chaitanya Deva stopped at his house. After he had taken

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51. Cîtalâ *from* *Badasâi.*

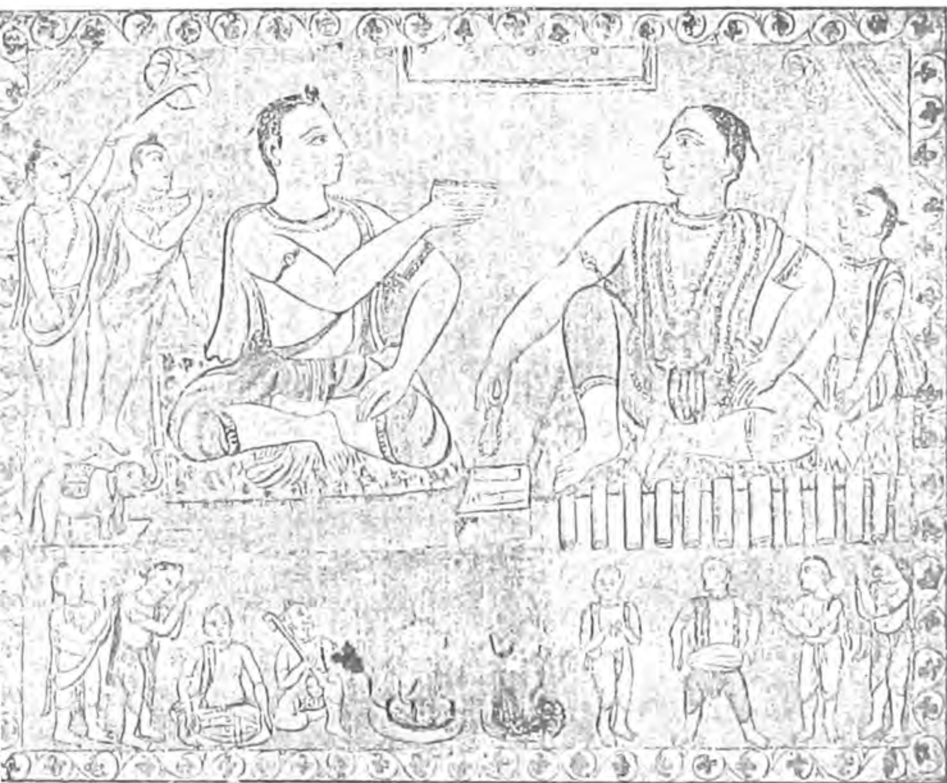


53. A Chaitya *from* *Badasâi.*



52. Dharma *from* *Badasâi.*

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5. Cyâmânanda and Rasikânanda *from Gopivallabhapur.*

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the vow of a Sannyāsin he lived 24 years, of which he spent only 6 in visiting places of Northern and Southern India, but passed all the remaining eighteen years in Orissa. His fervent devotion and religious ecstasy had a magnetic influence which drew thousands of admiring followers wherever he went. His appearance was particularly attractive; he was, besides, a sound scholar. All this charmed Pratāpa-rudra Deva, the then reigning king of Orissa, who considered him an incarnation of the Deity. Indeed he was revered by the people of Orissa as the living personality of Çrī Jagannātha of the Puri temple. His long residence of 18 years produced a religious fervour and enthusiasm which can better be imagined than described. In our report on Pratāpapur we have already stated that in that village Mahārāja Pratāparudra Deva had an image of Çrī Chaitanya made of *nim* wood. This example set by the king was soon followed by the people, and now there is scarcely any important village in Orissa that has not its image of Chaitanya for worship. Of all the images of Çrī Chaitanya found in Orissa, the one discovered at Pratāpapur is the oldest, having been made during the life-time of the Master. It is however lying in a neglected condition, though its great historical importance ought to have attracted the attention and homage of the people. (Fig. 54).

After Çrī Chaitanya had passed away, the task of propagating his religion in Utkala devolved upon two great Vaiṣṇava apostles, Çyāmānanda and Rasikānanda. Accounts of these Vaiṣṇava worthies are to be found in almost all the important Vaiṣṇava works, but chiefly in Bhaktiratnākara, Çyāmānanda-Prakāça and in Rasika-Maŋgala by Gopījana-vallabha.

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Çyāmānanda's parents lived in Gauḍa but afterwards came to Orissa. They first settled at Daṇḍeçvara and afterwards removed to Dhārendā Bāhādurpur where Çyāmānanda was born. After his marriage, a change came over his mind. This world and its pleasures lost their attraction for him. He left home and came to Ambikā in Kālnā where he embraced Vaiṣṇavism under the spiritual guidance of Hṛdaya Chaitanya, a favourite disciple of Gaurīdāsa and himself a companion of Çrī Chaitanya. Çyāmānanda's preceptor commanded him to preach this religion of love to one and all in Utkala. After his renunciation, he visited the principal places of India and finally came to Vṛndāvana. Here he met Raghunātha Dāsa, on whose advice he commenced studying the Vaiṣṇava scriptures under Jīva Gosvāmin, one of the reputed Gosvāmins or spiritual leaders of the Vaiṣṇava society.

He had before this called himself Dukhī Kṛṣṇa Dāsa but henceforth adopted the name of Çyāmānanda. When Çrīnivāsa was sent to Gauḍa with the precious works of the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, Çyāmānanda was with him—sharing his grief when those treasures were seized and taken away by robbers.

There is a village named Rohiṇī in the Zamindari of the Rājā of Mayūrabhañja (now in Midnapur Dist.) Here, more than 300 years ago, lived a land-holder named Achyuta. Murāri, his son, was of a spiritual turn of mind even from his boyhood. This young man mastered the whole of the Vaiṣṇava literature and giving up wordly pleasures sought solitude for spiritual contemplation. Ghāṭçilā was the place where Murāri retired and lived the life of a spiritual recluse, until a change came

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over his life by the advent of Çyāmānanda in that locality.

Çyāmānanda had in the meantime returned from Vṛndāvana, and after having visited Çāntipur, Nadia and Kheturi, came to Orissa. He first paid a visit to his native village, Daṇḍeçvara and then marched into the interior of the country with a view to propagating the doctrines of the Vaiṣṇava faith. So great was his influence in the surrounding country, that people of all classes, rich and poor alike, thronged to hear his instructions in religious matters and his disciples daily increased in number until a considerable part of the province came to own him as its master and spiritual guide. At Ghāṭçilā young Murāri met him, and the influence of the great master was seen in the former's immediate adoption of the Vaiṣṇava creed under his spiritual leadership. After his initiation into the Vaiṣṇava faith, Murāri took the name of Rasikānanda and followed his master on his tour throughout the province; and the devotion of the young enthusiast had a marvellous effect throughout the surrounding country. The backwoods of Orissa, where the light of the creed of love had not yet penetrated, were soon lit up with the torch held aloft by the young devotee, and to-day the major portion of the nobility of Orissa claim Rasikānanda as their great spiritual master who had first brought the light of Vaiṣṇavaism to their ancestors. We have seen that Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja accepted the tenets of the Vaiṣṇava faith at this time and became an ardent disciple of Rasikānanda. To-day the chiefs of Mayūrabhañja, Keonjhar and Nilgiri and Rājās of Sujāmuṭā and Patnā, and the Gosvāmins of Kesari and Kapti Matha in Puri, acknowledge the descendants of Rasikānanda as their spiri-

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tual guides and vie with one another in shewing respect to the eldest member of Rasikānanda's line who now occupies the *gadi* and possesses immense influence and wealth.

The quilts once used by Çyāmānanda and Rasikānanda are still in his possession. He has, besides, in his possession the pictures of these two worthies which are open to inspection by the Vaiṣṇava public on payment of a religious fee. (Fig. 55).

Rasikānanda's labours did not end in converting to his faith the chiefs and Rājās. The great body of the Buddhists, who were persecuted by Rājā Pratāparudra and were lying scattered throughout the whole province, calling themselves Braja-sutas (the name by which the Buddhists are denominated by Anākāra Saṁhitā and Rasikamaŋgala) were also converted to the Vaiṣṇava creed by the proselytising zeal of the two devotees. A mythological story is current in the Vaiṣṇava community to the effect that while at Vṛndāvana, Çyāmānanda got possession of an anklet belonging to Rādhā. The mark worn on the forehead of the followers of Çyāmānanda and Rasikānanda resembles an anklet which distinguishes them from the rest of the Vaiṣṇavas.

At Gopīvallabhapur, in Midnapur, there is an image of Kṛṣṇa known by the name of Gopīvallabha, which was enshrined by Rasikānanda. The temple dedicated to the deity was in charge of Çyāmā, the wife of Rasikānanda. To-day the eldest member of Rasikānanda's line is the rightful custodian of this temple, wielding thence an influence which is acknowledged alike by the rich and the poor of Orissa.

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II.

MODERN BUDDHISM, AND ITS FOLLOWERS IN ORISSA.

(*a*) Rise of the different schools, from the 1st to the 15th Century; (*b*) Ethnological discoveries; (*c*) Buddhism in Utkal from the 16th to the 18th Century onwards; (*e*) The revival of the Mahāyāna School and their present followers.

Towards the end of the 1st Century of the Christian era, the Scythian King Kaniska held a council of Buddhists at Jālandhar. At this council the Buddhists were found to be divided into two schools, one following the purer doctrine of Buddha himself, in spite of all the difficulties and obstacles that he had placed in the way of attaining salvation; this was named Hīnayāna or the Little Vehicle. The other,—while idealising Buddha with all his attributes,—introduced innumerable gods and demons, and added to the list of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This was styled the Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle.

The Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools of Philosophy then claimed Buddhism between themselves; and these, again, were subdivided,—the former into Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, and the latter into Mādhyamika and Yogāchāra. The Mahāyána school, however, had the predominant voice; and the essence of its doctrine was "Sarvaṁ Anityam, Sarvam Çunyam, Sarvam Anātman (All is transitory, all is void, all is non-ego.")*

Nāgārjuna, the founder and expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy, flourished at the time of the Third Council. The end and aim of his

* D. T. Suzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 44.

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philosophy was to bring about a compromise, as it were, between the Çramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇaṣ, and to find out a midway where the adherents of these two, could meet and shake hands with one another. "Nāgārjuna both by examples and theory, taught that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Çiva, Tārā and other deities possessed the attributes which Brāhmaṇas had assigned to them, and therefore were the proper objects of worship for help in worldly concerns. * * * * * Since his time the Brāhmaṇas began to regard the Mahāyāna Çramaṇas as their brother religionists."*

The doctrine of the Mahāçūnyam, as expounded by Nāgārjuna, as being the basis of the Mādhyamika philosophy, is to all intents and purposes but a reflection of the Great Brahma-Vāda, as inculcated in the Upaniṣads and the Gītā. And Dr. Kern is quite right when he observes that the Yogāchāras and the Mādhyamikas, the two true descendants of the Mahāyāna school, are but idealists in their own way. The former admits as reality nothing but Vijñāna, consciousness, and are in consequence, often designated Vijñāna-Vādins. But the Mādhyamikas are more sweeping in their pronouncements. They are absolute nihilists, carrying the theory of Name-and-Form to its extremes and denying all existence whatsoever, regarding the whole of the phenomenal world as a mere illusion. This nihilism of theirs may well be taken as the Buddhistic counterpart of the Scholastic Vedānta as taught by Çaŋkara.†

After Nāgārjuna, and second only to him,

* Carat Chandra Dās's *Land of Snow*, p. 7.

† Dr. Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 127.

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the chief expounder of the Mahāyāna philosophy was Vasubandhu. He was less wildly speculative than many of his predecessors and composed many commentaries, and was thus greatly successful in recasting, so to speak, the nihilism of the Mahāyāna school by giving it, as it were, an air of reality and tangibility. Thus Dr. Waddel says :—

"This intense mysticism of the Mahāyāna led, about the fifth century, to the importation into Buddhism of the pantheistic idea of the soul (ātman) and Yoga or the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal Spirit—a doctrine which had been introduced into Hinduism by Patañjali."*

The Yogāchāra School also, in its later development, received and assimilated some magic circles with mantras or spells about 700 A D., and hence received the new appellation of Mantra-yāna.

But the Mahāyāna School did not stop there. Having once commenced the work of importation and assimilation, it went on with it, with all its zeal and vigour, and was before long almost a new thing. About the seventh century A.D. the development of the infatuating Tantrism, which practically verges on sorcery claiming a religious basis, attracted the notice of the Mahāyāna School, and ere long the idolatrous cult of 'female energies' was found grafted upon the theistic Mahāyāna and the Pantheistic mysticism of Yoga. And this Tāntrika phase of the Mahāyāna School reached its climax when it adopted, and assimilated with itself, the theory of the Kālachakra.

* Dr. L. A. Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 128.

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Though laying no pretensions whatsoever to the consideration due to a philosophic system, this Kālachakra has an importance of its own as a doctrinal basis and deserves a passing notice here. It wants to establish a mysterious union between the terrible goddess Kālī of the Tāntrika system, and the Dhyānī Buddhas, nay, the Ādi-Buddha himself, of the Buddhistic system, and attempts to explain creation and the secret agencies of nature in the light of this union. In the tenth century, the Kālachakra system of the Mantrayāna School, as the result of further and further retrograde developments, passed into the system of the Vajrayāna or the thunderbolt-vehicle. This is the most depraved form, that the Buddhistic doctrine on its downward course of importation, assimilation and compromise, had ever assumed. According to this, the devotee may hope to attain the spiritual powers of siddhi—a stage admittedly far below Arhat-ship—with the joint aid of the supernatural Buddhas and the Ḍākas and the Ḍākinīs with their appropriate magic circles.*

As Dr. Kern rightly observes—"The doctrine of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of Tantrism and Sorcery which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice. The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common."†

This is the history of Buddhism in India, as it rushed headlong towards superstition and decline. But a change, pregnant and comprehensive, was

* Dr. Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 152.
† Kern's *Manual*, p. 133.

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soon to pass over it, making it bright and glorious again. Towards the latter part of the eighth century, Dharma Pāla I of the Pāla Dynasty, was occupying the masnad of Gauḍa. He was a Buddhist, and grieved to find his religion sunk in superstition and grossness. He made up his mind to have its downward course arrested, and the faith purged of all the impurities and unwelcome elements. His spirit was projected, as it were, into the minds of his successors, and systematic and earnest endeavours were made by the successive wearers of the crown to restore Buddhism to its former height and grandeur. And considering the galaxy of good and pious souls flourishing at the time of Dharma Pāla II, Mahī Pāla I and Naya Pāla who reigned from 1015 to 1060 A.D., we cannot but pronounce that their endeavours were largely crowned with success. The first and foremost amongst this group of great men was Dīpaŋkara Çrījñāna, otherwise known as Atiça. He was at the helm of the Vikramçila monastery from 1035 A.D. to 1038 A.D. Other notable names are Rāmāi Paṇḍit, Hāḍi Siddha, Kamalā Kuçila, Narendra Çrījñāna, and Dāna Rakṣita. Belonging to and professing the Tāntrika cult, they rose much above it and made themselves distinguished by their teachings and lives of piety, self-abnegation and self-renunciation. They were not, thus, to be ranked with the followers of the black Tantrism who made the enjoyment of material comforts their goal of life.

The irreligion and corruption which followed in the wake of the Tāntrika cult in its onward course, the latter taking the place of the spirit of its teachings and practices, permeated through and through the lives of both Hindus and Buddhists of the time, and deadened their

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spiritual sense. A tide of reaction, in the case of Buddhism, had already set in, as we have seen, with Dharma Pāla I, towards the end of the eighth century. And before the eleventh century had come to its close, divisions were effected in the camp of the Tāntrika Buddhism, owing to a revival of the religious spirit by some of the greatest thinkers and men of the time. The principal divisions were—the way of Pravṛtti, and the way of Nivṛtti. The goal of life which the Pravṛtti-mārgin (those who took to the path of Pravṛtti,) desired to set before them, was emancipation attainable only through enjoyment, life being indissolubly linked with weal and woe. And they proceeded to collect authoritative works in support of their view, to appeal to the hearts of the masses and win them over to their side.

The goal of the Nivṛtti-mārgin on the other hand was entire deliverance of the soul from the Pravṛtti, which is constantly at work—the source of all our pains and sufferings,—and the subsequent attainment of the blissful state, called Nivṛtti,—a complete annihilation or deadening of all the appetites and desires. Habitual abstraction of the mind from all pleasures and pains, will enable a man to know what Nivṛti is; and Tapas and Dhyāna are set down as the means for the realization of this habitual abstraction. But the highest ideal that this class of Buddhists set before their mental eyes was the acquisition of the knowledge of the Great Unconditioned Void or Mahā-Çūnyam. It was the highest flight of the Mādhyamika philosophy, and the fountain-head of all ideals and inspirations to its followers. Once more, inspired and fired with zeal and enthusiasm, they set about to collect the cardinal doctrines of

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the Mādhyamika School, and set them forth again in a more attractive and popular form. Amongst this class we find such names as Çri-jñāna Dipaŋkara and Narendra Çrījñāna and others.

As stated above, these two mārgas or ways were essentially different from one another, the former aiming at the realization of the unity of the Adi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajnā (Puruṣa and Prakriti) through the love and enjoyment of the world; and the latter, at the absorption of the soul in the Great Çūnyam through purity, love and renunciation.

It was in Gauḍa that both these systems of theology and religion first germinated and developed. Only a few years ago Mahāmaho-pādhyāya Haraprasād Çastri came across several ancient Bengali manuscripts in Nepal, dating from eight to nine hundred years back: and on examination these were found to belong to the Pravṛtti-Mārga School, recording the development of its thoughts and ideas in their several stages.

When Buddhisim had practically vanished from this country, the pernicious system propounded by the Pravṛtti Mārga lingered in the Sahajiā cult of the Vaiṣṇavas and did incalculable mischief to that society. The influence which these two schools of thought exercised upon the minds of all sections of the community was considerable. Advocating the fullest enjoyment of life the Pravṛtti Mārga system soon became a powerful instrument of vice in the hands of many inculcating the noxious practices of the Sahajiyā cult. The Nivṛttī-mārga system was a no less potent factor in moulding and regulating the thoughts of

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society, as is evidenced by a critical study of the Çūnya-Purāṇa and Dharma-Maṅgala literature and several other Oriya manuscripts, recently brought to light in some of the backward villages of Mayūrabhañja. Remnants of its former influence are still discernible in the manners and customs of the Bāthuri tribe and the Mahimā-dharmin sect of Mayūrabhañja.

What we aim at in this chapter is to discuss briefly the influence which the Nivṛitti-Mārga once exercised upon the minds of the country and the part it played in the history and growth of a comparative religion. The writings extant on the subject are, however, very frequently enveloped in a peculiar mysticism. They ascribe, for instance, to Çrijñana, Rāmāi Paṇḍit and the other sages of the time, we have referred to above, all sorts of miracles and supernatural feats. Whatever may be the value of these assertions, it is at any rate true that the goal of life they aimed at and taught others to aim at, was the attainment of *Bambha Nibbāna* which really refers to the Buddhistic idea of Salvation.*

It may not be out of place to note in passing that the reputation and influence of Atiça extended over the whole of lower Bengal and from there up to Bhoṭa (Tibet). The fame of Rāmāi Paṇḍit spread over the whole of Rāḍha† and Hāḍi Siddha's name exercised for long a magic influence in the eastern provinces of Bengal.

It has been proved beyond all shadow of a

* *Vide* Rāmāi Pandit's Cunyapurāna published by the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad, 1909.

† Mayurabhanja, the subject-matter of the present treatise is situated close to Rāḍha. Nay, to the people of Orissa, Mayurabhanja itself is known as Rāḍha.

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doubt by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Çāstri, that the Dharma cult which even now counts amongst its followers a good many people of the lower classes of Bengal, was founded and inaugurated by Rāmāi Paṇḍit. We shall try to show later on that the result of the endeavours made by the Pāla Kings to improve the depraved religious tone of the country and more especially the personal influence of Rāmāi Paṇḍit in this direction, were not confined within the limits of Mayūrabhañja, but pervaded the whole of Orissa. M. M. Çāstri has clearly shown that the central force of Rāmāi Paṇḍit's works was the doctrine of the Mahā-Çūnyam or the Great Void, which is again the heart and soul of the Mādhyamika philosophy. The bright and sparkling description or Dhyāna of Dharma in which he indulges, is itself a strong and clear proof of this. Nowhere in the whole range of Hindu scriptures do we come across, a more luminous passage than the one in which he describes the Çūnyam. And we cannot do better than quote a few lines from it :—

"यस्यान्तोनादिमध्यो न च करचरणौ नास्तिकायो निनादं ।
नाकारो नैव रूपं न च भयमरणे नास्ति जन्मनि यस्य ।
योगीन्द्रैर्ध्यानगम्यं सकलदलगतं सर्व्वलोकैकनाथं ।
भक्तानां कामपूरं सुरनरवरदं चिन्तयेत् शून्यमूर्त्तिम् ।"

"He who has neither a beginning nor an end, nor a middle ; who has, further, neither hands nor feet, neither body nor voice ; neither form nor image ; and who is afraid neither of birth nor death :—He who is knowable only by the greatest of the Yogis, sages ; who underlies and upholds all classes of men ; who is the sole lord of all the worlds (*i.e.* the whole creation) ;

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who brings about the realizations of the desires of his devotees, and confers boons upon gods and men alike. Devoid of all forms and figures as the void itself, he is to be meditated upon."

We also find a similar passage in his Çūnya-Purāṇa :—

"शून्यरूपं निराकारं सहस्रविघ्ननाशनम् ।
सर्व्वपरः परो देव तस्मात्त्वं वरदो भव ॥"

"Thou art destitute of all forms and images, and art the destroyer of all perils and disasters; thou art above everything and the god of gods. Hence mayest thou be pleased to confer boons upon us."

Svayambhū-Purāṇa of Nepal is a Buddhistic work of wide renown and some merit. Amongst its prefatory Çlokas we find the following, the underlying idea of which is a distinct echo of that conveyed in the above quotations :—

"नमो बुद्धाय धर्म्माय सङ्घरूपाय वै नमः ।
स्वयम्भुवे वियच्छान्त (?) भानवे धर्म्मधातवे ॥
अस्ति नास्ति स्वरूपाय ज्ञानरूपस्वरूपिणे ।
शून्यरूपस्वरूपाय नामरूपाय वै नमः ॥"

"All obeisance to thee who art Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha personified and who art self-existent, and who art in Çūnya, the sun itself—all serene and sublime; and the essence of all religion. All obeisance to thee who art both existent and non-existent, and also omniscient; and whose form is Çūnya and who art but one and the same with the Name itself."

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But of all the existing Buddhistic writings of the Mahāyāna School, by far the most important is Prajñā-pāramitā. This is to the Buddhists what Vedās are to the Brāhmaṇas. Prajñā-Pāramitā, as mentioned above, is a Sutra Çāstra of the Mahāyāna School, and is mainly devoted to an elaboration of the doctrine of Çūnyatā. In the chapter on Buddhistic Philosophy in his celebrated work of Sarvadarçana-Saṁgraha, the renowned Mādhavāchārya has dwelt at some length upon the theory of the Çūnya. The following is a quotation from it :—

"अस्ति नास्ति तदुभयानुभयचतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं शून्यरूपं" इत्यादि ।

"The ultimate principle, then, is a void emancipated from four alternatives—from reality from unreality, from both reality and unreality combined, and from neither reality nor unreality."*

But in spite of all this, Buddhism, otherwise known as Sad-Dharma, gradually lost its hold upon the minds of the cultured classes of Bengal as M. M. Haraprasād Çāstri has shown. In its deteriorated form it merely retained a lodgment in the minds of the superstitious priests of the Dharma and Çītalā cults and their numerous followers, and there it still lurks.

Dr. Kern also writes to this effect :—"After the invasion of the country by the Mahomedans in A. D. 1200, the monasteries of Odantapura and Vikrama-Çilā were destroyed, and the monks were killed or fled to other countries. The learned Çākya-çrī went to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet."

* *Sarva-Darçana-Samgraha*, translated by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, p. 22—23.

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But Buddhism also found a hiding-place, as it were, in the Deccan, as we are told by the same author.—"Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South and founded colleges on a modest scale, in Vijayanagara, Kaliŋga, and Koŋkaṇa."*

Dr. Kern is one of the best authorities on the history of Buddhism. The above quotations from his "Manual" establish it beyond doubt that after the Universities of Nālandā and Vikrama-çilā were destroyed, and the wave of Muhammadan conquest had swept past Magadha and Gauḍa, the surviving ministers of Buddhism migrated to Utkala and there built new monasteries. And these citadels, in the wildernesses of Orissa, not only acted as a bar to arrest the tide of extinction, but largely helped the growth and gradual expansion of the religion.

The zeal and enthusiasm of these emigrants did not end with the construction of monasteries. Right earnestly did they devote themselves to a study of both the ancient and modern scriptures of the faith, and fought hard and long against the tide of extinction that threatened to engulf them. Even when the Tibetan pilgrim, Buddha Gupta Tathāgata Nātha, visited Utkala towards the latter half of the 17th century, he found old chaityas, stūpas and various other relics of the faith which once had so strong a hold upon the minds of the people residing there. He also met some living priests of the Dharma Cult.

Under these circumstances, we fully hoped we should find sufficient materials to prove the enormous influence that this religion once

* *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 134.

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exercised upon the minds of the people in Utkala. And indeed it affords us no little satisfaction to report that within a short time and without much trouble we came across very many evidences of the sway once exercised by the various sects of Buddhism in Mayūrabhañja. In the forest tracts adjacent to Baḍasāi and Kiching in Mayūrabhañja we have discovered several Oriya manuscripts shedding a flood of light upon the later phases of Buddhism. Both from what we are able to glean from these manuscripts, and as the result of our ethnological researches, we have come to the irresistible conclusion that the influence of the Dharma Cult and the later phases of Buddhism still lingers in the hearts, and regulates the lives, of the people of this place. Unconsciously, as if instinctively, they follow the manners and customs and observe the rites and ceremonies that gathered round the Mahāyāna School in the days of its decline.

(b) ETHNOGRAPHIC DISCOVERY.

It has already been remarked in connection with the Buddhistic relics discovered in the village of Baḍasāi, that they owed their preservation from absolute destruction and oblivion entirely to the commendable zeal and care of the Bāthuri tribe. This tribe, which is known in Mayūrabhañja as Bāthuri, has, in Keonjhar and the remaining Gaḍjāt States, received two other appellations, *viz.*, Bāhuri or Bāuri.

Balarāma-dāsa, in his commentary on Gaṇeça-vibhūti, entitled Siddhānta-ḍambara,* written

* A MS. of this work has been discovered in Badsai.

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in the 16th century, thus refers to the Bāthuri tribe :—

"निराकार हइतेक विम्ब होइल जात ।
उत्तर अङ्गु जात गोपाल मध्यूत ॥ १७
बदन अगरे विश्वामित्र मुनि कहि ।
ताहांक अङ्गे बाउरि जात होइ ॥ १८ * * *
विश्वामित्र ज्येष्ठ सुत पुत्र हादि जान ।
सेइटि बाउरि अनन्तकाच्छी नाम ॥ २१
गोरथाख्या दास इति आचार्य्य अछन्ति ।
वाजपेय हौवे इति दाहि बोलाइन्ति ॥ २२
पाखि मिश्र पति बोलि स्रात जाति जान ।
अग्र चैतन्नी छन्ति हेतु करि मान ॥ २३
वशिष्ठ अङ्गरु वायु विप्रकुल एहि ।
सूत्र ए वशिष्ठ एहि नाम गुटी कहि ॥ २४ * *
तार तहुं तेर सुत होइल जनम ।
ताहार पत्नीर नाम पद्मालया जान ॥ २५
कनिष्ठ पत्नीरे चित्र उर्व्वशी तार नाम ।
गन्धकेशी वशिष्ठ तार तृतिय भार्य्या जाण । २६
वायुरेखा वशिष्ठ से चतुर्थक कहि ।
चार सुत जन्म हेले चारि पत्नी तहि ॥ २८
नाम ताहाङ्कर एवे कहुअछि शुण ।
संशय लागिल मोते कहिवा आपन ॥ २९ । * * * * ।

एवे बाउरि चार पुत्र नाम कहिवा । पद्मालयापुत्र दुखि बाउरि अटन्ति । ब्राह्मणङ्के वेद पढ़ुआन्ति । ब्राह्मण ज्येष्ठ बाउरि कनिष्ठ । ए पढ़ुविले राजा प्रतापरुद्रङ्क ठारु गोप्य करि रखिअछन्ति । * * * * पद्मालया पुत्र बायोकाच्छी परमानन्द भोइ राधी मालमल । गीत—

उर्व्वशीर तिन पुत्र अटइ प्रमाण ।
कुम्भलग्ना बोलि तार ज्येष्ठ पुत्र नाम ॥
विधुकुम्भ बोलि तार कनिष्ठ पुत्र कहि ।
उर्व्वकुम्भ बोलि तार तिन पुत्र कहि ॥
ए तिन बाउरि, काञ्जा गन्ध ॥
वशिष्ठारु तिन सुत हादि जान ॥
एके एके कहिदेवा ताहाङ्कर नाम ।
ज्येष्ठपुत्र प्रथमा वशिष्ठ नाम कहि ।

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उद्यम पतिवलिटी कनिष्ठ पुत्र कहि ॥
काघुभम वलि तिन सुतर जे नाम ।
वाघुति वलिब नाम अति अनुपाम ॥
वायुरेखा तिन सुत नाम देबा कहि ।
जयसर्व्वा बोलि जेष्ठ सुतटी अटइ ॥
चन्द्रसर्वा बोलि नाम कनिष्ठ नन्दन ।
महाशौर्य्यकेतु बोलि एहि ठारु मध्य ॥
ए तिन नन्दन जे शवर अटन्ति ।
अन्य कहुअछि मुण उमार सन्तति ॥
बार जाति बाउरि जे एहि प्रतिरोध ।
भिन्न भिन्न करि एहा जाति गोत्र शोध ॥

दुलि बाउरि, काहाल, मजग काहाल, गुरु काहारि, पेरि, बाउरि, शवर, जुयाड़, जादु. भादु, गुरु, नुधन । * * गीत—

गणेश बोइलि प्रभु मोते आज्ञा हेउ ।
ए बारि दुहिता जात होइलि कांइ ॥
पद्मालया जाहा नाम अमूल्यटी सेहि ।
निराकार दक्षिण अङ्ग जात होइ ॥
द्वितीय भार्य्या चित्र उर्व्वशी ता नाम ।
गन्धकेशी बोलिण ताहार दासी जान ॥
वायुरेखा अटइ गन्धकेशी दासी ।
ए तिन हे पद्मालया दासी जे अटन्ति ॥
एते कहिथिलु बेलो पाठक सवण ।
सावधान होइ मुण उमार नन्दन ॥
पद्मालया तिन पुत्र जेष्ठ से प्रमाण ।
विशुद्ध सन्तति हे हुयन्ति सम्भावन ॥
षड़ासुर मारि प्रभु षड़ ताकु दिले ।
षडजन षड़ तुम्ब हाल बोइले ॥
आउ नर भाइ अग्र कुइ न जुगाइ ।
विचारि जानिलेटी संशय हेला सेहि" ॥ (१२ श अध्याय)

Whatever may otherwise be the value of these lines, they possess at least some historical interest. From them we obtain glimpses into the origin of the Bāthuris or Bāuris. Similar stories about origins are also to be met with in the

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Purāṇas,—but the story of Siddhānta-ḍambara is not corroborated by any Paurāṇika work whether Hindu or Buddhistic. In all probability it is either a traditional history of the tribe, passing for generations from mouth to mouth, and given a tangible literary shape by the poet,—or based upon materials drawn from some other work existing at the time, but now either buried in oblivion or quite extinct.

The author has traced this tribe back to the fountain-head of all vitality and creation. He says :—From the right side of the Nirākāra sprang the Vipras into existence and from his mouth Vicvāmitra ; and from this Viçvāmitra the Bāuris came into being. The Vipras were, in their turn, divided into seven classes, *e.g.*, Çrī, Ratha, Dāsa, Miçra, Āchārya, Pāni and Pati. All these are mentioned as sons of Vaçiṣṭha. From the right side of the Nirākāra also sprang, in full bloom, the goddess, Padmālayā, who was married to Viçvāmitra. The fruit of this union was a son, named Ananta-kāṇḍi Bāuri, and afterwards Duli Bāuri. It is also said that Duli Bāuri and his descendants studied the Vedas with the Brāhmaṇas, who were regarded as their elder brothers. Bāyokāṇḍi, Paramānanda Bhoi, and Rādhosāsmala—the three descendants of Padmālayā—are the Duli Bāuris. Chitrorvaçi was the second wife of Viçvāmitra, by whom he had three sons, *viz.*, Kuçasarvā, Vidhukuça and Urbakuça, from whom the Bāuris are descended. Viçvāmitra married another wife, *viz.* Gandhakeçī, who, too, blessed him with three sons—Prayaçā, Udyama and Sādhudharma ; and these came to be known as Bāghutis. Viçvāmitra had yet another consort in Vāyurekhā, who also was the mother of the same number of sons. They were named Jayasarvā,

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Vijaya-Sarvā and Vijāya-ketu, and founded the Çavara tribe. These four castes, *viz.*, Duli Bāuri, Bāuri, Bāghuti and Çavara, came afterwards to be divided into twelve sub-castes. Although no Hindu or Buddhistic scripture is available to support the theory of the origin of the Çavara, in its entirety, yet it may be recorded here that in the Aitareya Brāmaṇa of the Ṛkveda, the Çavaras are described as descendants of the sage Viçvāmitra. Hence we are of opinion that the description of Siddhānta-ḍambara is not entirely wanting in historical importance.

While describing the origin of the Bāuris, the author of Sidhānta-ḍambara has incidentally touched upon a very important fact. He says :— Of the three sons of Padmālayā the eldest had once a friendly meeting with Viṣṇu, who killed Saŋkhāsura and gave him the Saŋkha. In a similar way five of the descendants of the same goddess by these sons received various friendly favours from Viṣṇu, while the nine remaining sons of Viçvāmitra by his three other wives had not even been favoured with the privilege of touching Viṣṇu's person.

We scarcely think it would be very wide of the mark to infer from this that the word Saŋkha here means nothing but a Buddhistic Saŋgha. In this interpretation of Saŋkha as Saŋgha, we are supported by the Çūnya-Purāṇa, in which Saŋkha is very frequently used for Saŋgha. The common people in their ignorance of the teachings of Buddhism and its terminology, either misspelt Saŋgha as Saŋkha, or mistook Saŋkha for Saŋgha which really means a congregation of Buddhistic monks. The only probable interpretation of Viṣṇu's killing Saŋkhāsura and giving the Saŋkha to Padmālayā's son

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is that the eldest member of the Bāuri community became a Saŋghādhipa, *i.e.*, chief of a Buddhistic fraternity, after destroying the enemies of the Saŋgha. Thus, we believe, it was that the sons of Padmālayā and their descendants obtained admittance to the fold of the Buddhistic Saŋgha, while the remaining sons of Viçvāmitra by his other wives, with their descendants, were thrown into the shade, and occupied an inferior position in society, merely because they could obtain no such admittance, or, in other words, had not themselves converted to Buddhism.

The author of Siddhānta-ḍambara makes this clear in the following lines :—

> "পদ্মালয়াপুত্র দুলি বাউরি অটন্তি ব্রাহ্মণ সঙ্গে বেদ পঢ়ু থান্তি। ব্রাহ্মণ জ্যেষ্ঠ বাউরি কনিষ্ঠ। এ পঢ় খিবে রাজা প্রতাপরুদ্রর ঠারে গোপ্য করি রখিছন্তি।"

"Duli Bāuri was the Padmālayā's descendant; he would read the Vedas with Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa was older than he. The fact of the Bāuri studying the Vedas was kept concealed from King Pratāparudra."

Hence it is evident that the Bāuris were regarded as equal in rank with the Brāhmaṇas and that they observed the rites and followed the observances of Buddhism until the time of King Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.

We learn from Mr. Sterling's *Orissa* that although the followers of Buddhism were at first received with form and treated with marked consideration by Pratāparudra Deva, they were afterwards persecuted by his court. Now, reading the history of Utkala together with that of Siddhānta-ḍambara, one must accept, as the only

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natural conclusion, our belief that it was the dread of persecution by the king that compelled the Buddhist priests of the Bāuri caste to seek shelter in concealment. And to evade these persecutions and avoid incurring the displeasure and disfavour of the Brāhmaṇas, they played the hypocrite by adopting the religious observances and practices of the latter. Further, in order completely to hoodwink these vigilant dragons of the Brāhmanic faith they substituted the names of Hindu gods and goddesses for those of their own. Notwithstanding all this apparent hypocrisy, however, they sincerely believed that Buddha was in reality an *avatára* of Viṣṇu, and as such they felt justified in substituting the name of Viṣṇu for his.—Even then, Çūnyavāda was the highest goal of their religious aspirations, and they consigned Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Çiva—their adopted gods—to inferior positions. But placed as they were, under ban and anathema by the king and the leaders of society, their social status was no higher than that of the Ḍomas and the Ḍoma Paṇḍits of Bengal who professed the Dharma cult.

We find the following lines in Siddhānta-ḍambara :—

"कलियुगे न छुइब । बाउरि छुइले सकल पातक क्षय हब
बोलि विष्णुमाया करि गोप्य करि रखि अछन्ति ।
धन हे गणेश बड़ गहन ए गुप्त करि छइबु ।
एथि सकाशरु बाउरि गार काटिले ब्राह्मण निभाइ पारन्ति नाहिं । मूर्ख
पातक क्षय हब बोलि ग्राह्यक मानिथान्ति ।" (१२ अ:)

"They are not to be touched in the Kaliyuga. But a touch of their bodies will extirpate all the sins. Hence Viṣṇu, through his māyā, has kept them in concealment."

Here, in the same breath, the author both

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decries and extols the Bāuris. Probably to complete their disguise and help them to conceal themselves, he says the Bāuris are unworthy of being touched. Yet in the next line he speaks of them in such high terms as can fall only from the lips of one who has himself been either a staunch believer in Buddhism or a Bāuri Paṇḍit like so many Ḍoma Paṇḍits of Bengal. The positions of these two classes of Paṇḍits were almost identical, although differing widely in their religious systems. Dharma occupied the highest place in the pantheon of the Ḍoma Paṇḍits; while, as we learn from Siddhānta-ḍambara, the Bāuris, not unlike the Mahāyānists of yore, held Mahāçūnyatā or Çūnya-Brahman as the sole cause of the entire universe. We obtain sufficient glimpses of the Çūnyavāda from the writings of the votaries of the different sects and sub-sects that sprang from latter-day Buddhism.

We have seen before that in the 16th century, up to the time of Rājā Pratāparudra of Utkala, Buddhism was the prevailing creed of Orissa. Although, owing to persecutions at the hands of the king, its influence began subsequently to wane, Buddhism was never wholly extirpated from the province. The crusade carried on against its followers, no doubt, compelled them to take refuge in the impregnable hilly parts of the country. Speaking of Mukunda Deva, the last independent King of Orissa, whose dominions extended from Triveṇī in the North to Ganjam in the South, *Pagsam Jon-Zan*, a Tibetan work written by Sampo Khampa, states that this King favoured Buddhism, and Buddhists were found in large numbers residing in his territories. We quote from it the following :—

"Mukunda Deva (Dharma-Rāja) King of

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Otivisa (Orissa) who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He, too, did some service to the cause of Buddhism."

In Siddhānta-ḍambara the Bāuri is mentioned as one of the nine classes of Brāhmaṇas, although, it is added, he was, in the time of the author, regarded as 'unworthy of being touched.' Now the question is whether as stated by the author of Siddhānta-ḍambara the present Bāthuris are in any way connected with the Brāhmaṇas. To this from the various materials that we were able to glean in the course of our ethnological survey in Mayūrabhañja, we are in a position to reply that the Bāthuri tribe does really belong to the Aryan race. Ample proofs of this are scattered all over the country. To select at random from amongst the long list of such proofs, the fine specimens of architecture in the impregnable Simlipāla hills of Mayūrabhañja, the ancient stone temple named Āthāradeula, and similar other buildings, and the great stone fort of Joshipur or Daspur are unmistakable indications of their past culture and civilization, and go far in establishing their Aryan connection. It was only a few years back that this people were said to occupy the exalted positions of rulers, ministers and commanders. Bāthuris themselves believe that the Aryan blood runs in their veins; and are strongly convinced that they are in all respects on a par with the Brāhmaṇas. Even now they are found wearing the sacred thread; and like the Brahmins they observe the 'ten days' mourning' and perform the *çrādh* ceremony on the eleventh day. On the day of the *çrādh*, Brāhmaṇas and Vaiṣṇavas dine in the house of the performer of the ceremony. The greatest personage of this tribe is

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now-a-days honoured with the title of Mahāpātra. On the occasion of the marriage of a son or a daughter, the Bāthuri house-holder has to give away a piece of cloth, ten betel-nuts and one hundred betels, as marks of honour to the Mahāpātra. And so great is the honour that he enjoys among his own people that on every festive occasion his approval has first of all to be sought and obtained. The Mahāpātra family of Mayūrabhañja proper is believed to have descended from the eldest branch and those of Ādipur and Dasapur from the youngest. Although occupying an inferior position in society, they themselves jealously regard their tribal self-respect and family prestige. No true Bāthuri will ever be induced to partake of the food cooked even by a Brāhmaṇa. If ever any member of their society in any way violates their social rules or is found to have connection with any woman of any other caste, he suffers the extreme penalty of excommunication. They offer their religious homage to Dharmarāja, Jagannātha* (Baḍam), Kinchakeçvarī and Bāuri Thākurāṇī.

No writer has yet fully dwelt upon the ethnology of this ancient people. We therefore propose giving here rather a detailed account of their manners and customs. As has been already observed the Mahāpātras are the foremost in rank among the Bāthuris. Their ancestors were the rulers of Simlipāla, where remnants of their past glory may still be seen. Of these we have already spoken. Branches of this line are now living in Bāmuria, Joshipur or Dasa-

* To the Buddhists of Nepal Dharmarāja and Jagannātha are only other names of Buddha.

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pur and Ādipurgarh. From Māhapātra Sacchidānanda Dāsa of Ādipurgarh we have learnt that his ancestor of the fourteenth remove with his two brothers left his ancestral home at Jamunākula among the hills of Simlipāla, owing to the ravages of tigers. The eldest, who was the ruler of the state of Simlipāla removed to Bāmuria near Khunta Karkachia in Bhañjabhūma. The second and the third (youngest) migrated respectively to Ādipurgarh and Daspurgarh. Their descendants are still living in those places.

Another branch of the Bāthuri zamindars is to be found at Karañjiāgarh. This family is related to the Mahāpātras spoken of above, though sprung from a different stock.

We have heard both from Mahāpātra Sacchidānanda and his Vyavahartā (counsellor) Ananta Dāsa the following story of creation :—

Çūnya Mahāprabhu alone existed before creation. From Him sprang Vedamātā, of whom were born the fifty-six crores of beings and the world. They added that this account of the creation was to be found in numerous manuscripts of Simlipāla. Of these they themselves once possessed a large number, all of which had, however, been destroyed by fire. They also furnished us with an account of the origin of their own tribe. The following is the gist of what they said. In the beginning there was nothing but Çūnya; and from the arm (bāhu) of Çūnya Mahāprabhu sprang into existence the founder of their tribe. And it was for this (*i.e.*, their origin from the bāhu or arm of the creator) that the tribe came to be known as Bāhuri or Bāthuri. In course of time this

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tribe began to branch off into a large number of *Khilis*, *i.e.*, families, such as :—

Kuçamāliā,
Biçāla,
Purihāra,
Moḍei,
Dāsa,
Giri,
Kapuṇḍia,
Dhala,
Çūliya,
Simaḍaŋkiyā,
Senāpati,
Pāṭaliyā,
Pātra,
Kumār (Kuŋar),
Khanḍei,
Khālpāriyā,
Çaŋkhiyāl,
Māṇika,
Kānachikaniyā,
Māṭiyāu,
Jariyāl,
Maigaḍabiçāla,
Khāṭuā,
Rānāsiyā,
Jhariāl,
Rāmagaḍia,
Bāgjaḍiā,
Paniyāḍiyā,
Bārsāliya,
Mushāpāliyā,
Taṇḍakhāliyābiçāla,
Rāut,
Bāgchampiyāpātra,
Sundarghariāpatra,
Jāmuṇḍiā,
Danāyik,
Rupjitmarāī,
Mṛḍiyā,
Bāragāñiyā,
Gāmbhāriya,
Kalpāḍiyā,
Kolāpāḍiyā,
Rāi-ṭhāñiyā,
Nimbāl,
Pichhaliyā,
Khejarpāṭiyā.

Each khili is regarded as one integral family, no nuptial alliance being allowed between members of one and the same khili. But such an alliance between members of different khilis is not prohibited. On the contrary they are very liberal on this point. One may even marry the daughter of his mother's own brother. Each of the khilis has again its gradations of rank, consisting of four orders, *viz.*, 1, Mahāpātras, 2, Nāyakas ; 3, Pāiks ; and 4, Muliyās, or the labouring class. They have four *gotras*, *viz.*, Parāçara, Nāgaça, Kāçyapa, and Pārdhyā. Kuçamāliyās and Biçālas

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occupy the foremost rank among the khilis; Khālpāriyas and the rest are all below them. Kuçamāliyas are reported to be descendants of Rāmapāla or Rāma Rājā of Simlipāla. From Siddhānta-ḍambara we learn that from the Formless sprang Viçvāmitra from whom there descended Kuçasarbā, Bidhukuça, and Aurbakuça. These latter are looked up to as having been the three Kuças or the earliest known progenitors of the Bāthuri tribe. The Kuçamāliyās of Bāmuriyā, Ādipur and Daspur also claim descents from Kuça.

Let us next turn our attention to the customs of the Bāthuris. Various ceremonies are gone through to solemnise the nativity of their children. Just on the seventh day after birth the body of the babe is besmeared with an unguent, consisting of ground turmeric and mustard oil, and bathed in water: on the ninth day it is shaved, bathed and purified. Then on the twenty-first day the child is given a name (which corresponds to being "christened") and wrapped in a new piece of cloth. And on this day the family preceptor and Vaisṇavas are feasted, a horoscope of the child is cast by an astrologer, and worship is offered to Kalaça, Ganeça and the tutelary deities of the ten directions. In the tenth or eleventh month the Annaprāçana ceremony (when the child for the *first* time in its life takes rice and other solid food) is celebrated. Fresh cooking utensils and brand-new pieces of cloth are distributed and friends and relatives feasted on the occasion. Then several years are allowed to elapse, but when the boy comes to be seven or eight years old, he has to pass through a ceremony which is known as Karṇabedha, *i.e.*, the piercing of the ears. Again, on reaching the age of ten or eleven, his

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period of study commences, but does not continue long. The marriage ceremony is generally celebrated in the twelfth or the fourteenth year, the ceremony of *Upanayana* or conferring the sacred thread, taking place immediately before wedlock. Girls are generally bestowed in marriage between the tenth and the twelfth year, though cases are not rare when they are married a little earlier or later. When both the parties close with the terms of marriage, they enter into what may be called an agreement a lekhāpatra, equally binding upon both of them, to the effect—that if either of them fails or declines to give his son or daughter in marriage on the day appointed, the bond is forfeited to the other and the defaulter becomes liable to the payment of a certain fine, also specified in the contract as a penalty. After this, and in order solemnly to ratify the terms of the agreement, a peculiar ceremony, known among them as 'eating rice', is observed. It consists in the fathers of the bridegroom and the bride giving each other a handful of rice and swearing that if either thereafter decline to give his son or daughter, as the case may be, in marriage to the daughter or son of the other, as agreed upon, he will have not only to pay the fine to the State but be liable to excommunication. If circumstances do not permit the father of the bride to celebrate the marriage in his own house, he first despatches a goat and three khaṇḍiā (thirty seers) of rice, for a feast of which both parties are to partake, to the bridegroom's house and, then, accompanies his daughter there. The Padhariyā,* as

* The *padhariyas* have their houses in Daspur, Karaujiā, Mamuria, Noāgāon, Cilakorbi Sardā and Vispuri. Those of Adipur have become extinct. Their duties have now devolved upon the Brāhmaṇas.

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the priest of the Bāthuris is styled, has to recite the nuptial *mantras*, and both the bride and the bridegroom wear on the occasion cloths which are tinged with turmeric. But before the couple are finally united in wedlock, yet another ceremony, in the form of an episode, has to be performed. It is what is called by them "guāpaitā"—conferring the sacred thread, with a betel-nut, first upon the bridegroom and then the bride. Here the outward manifestation of the nuptial tie is a thread with some mango-leaves fastened to it, which is tied by the priest round the wrists of both the husband and the wife. When the ceremony is over the happy couple play with conch-shells. After that the bridegroom cracks his betel-nut of the 'guāpaitā' to pieces and offers a piece to his wife and himself begins to chew another. Then they put on new clothes and go to the house of the former. Here married women perform the ceremony of 'varaṇa,' *i.e.*, they bless and welcome the newly married pair and play various practical jokes upon them. A few days after this the friends and relatives are again invited to a feast in which rice touched by the bride is distributed amongst the guests. This is perhaps the most important feature of the whole marriage ceremony. It is only after this has been done that the bride is really looked upon as a member of her husband's family; but thereby a restriction is also put upon her: she will never more be allowed to cook food in the house of her father. After she has become a woman she is not allowed to touch any food or drink for seven consecutive days; on the eighth day she takes a bath, offers worship to the gods and becomes thenceforward entitled to a place in her husband's bed. In the fifth month of her pregnancy the sādha is performed and

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in the seventh month what is known as kārya bandha.

There was also a peculiarity in their manner of disposing of the dead. When an aged person died, he or she was consigned to the flames; but when the deceased was young, it was the practice to bury the body. The obsequies observed on the two occasions were also different. Before the old man was placed on the funeral pyre, he was covered with a new piece of cloth, a *tulasi* plant was tied round his neck and gold and cows were given away. Ten days were set down as the period of mourning. The chief mourner, whose duty it was to set fire to the pile, and the other relatives of the deceased, were not to touch fish or meat during this period; and it was more particularly enjoined upon the former to have a pure body and a pure mind during this time. He had, besides, on each of these days of mourning to offer as oblations to the manes of the departed, a few sticks and some fried paddy. On the 10th day all the male members of the deceased man's family had to be shaved, the barber being allowed to take away the cloth of the chief mourner. On the 11th day Vaiṣṇavas were feasted with curd and fried rice, and were each given some of the latter uncooked. On the 12th day, to bring the ceremony to a close, the friends and relatives of the dead were fed, and cloths and other presents made to the more respectable guests as marks of honour.

It is alleged by the Bhāthuri Mahāpātras that it was their ancestors that brought the Bhañja-Rāja family from the west and helped them in establishing themselves in the place of the Virāṭa family. Formerly there were twenty-two zaminders or sāmantas under the Bhañja-

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Rāja. Four of these were Bāthuris, *viz.*, the zamindars of Simlipāla, Ādipur, Daspur and Karañjia; and they were all honoured with the title of Mahāpātra. They were also each presented by the Bhañja Rājās, with a flag, a silver umbrella and a *chámara*—which they used to display on festive occasions. But all these are now gone, while the families are now trembling on the verge of poverty and ruin, being over head and ears in debt. The poor Bāthuris dragging on their miserable existences in the hills have fallen so low that they look no better than the Kols, the Santāls and other aboriginal tribes. In some places they are even found to observe the rites and manners of the latter; for instance, they eat hāṇḍiās, domesticate cocks and hens and marry widows. It is for this, we think, that they are regarded by some as descendants of the original non-Aryan inhabitants of the place,* although in reality descended from the ancient Aryan stock. The truth of this would become evident if the appearance and nature of the members of the higher families of the Bāthuri tribe were carefully examined. For the information of the public we give below a representative picture of each of the Daspur and Karañjia families.

Many Bāthuris live also in Keonjhar. They say that in bygone days they exercised a great influence over all the parts of Orissa. Their degeneration and decline commenced in the time of Rājā Pratāparudra. It has been shewn above by extracts from Siddhānta-ḍambara, written four hundred years ago, that in ancient times they and the Brāhmaṇas were upon a foot-

* H. H. Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I.

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ing of equality. Balarāma Dāsa,* the author of the work, says that they used to study the Vedas side by side with the Brāhmaṇas. Since the time of Pratāparudra they have come to be regarded as 'gupta' (kripto, veiled) and unworthy of being touched. Yet they are believed to be in the good books of Viṣṇu or Buddha.

The story of Creation by Çūnya Mahāprabhu and Vedamātā, as narrated by the Bāthuris, closely resembles that told by the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School. In the Svayambhū Purāṇa of the Buddhists of Nepal, Çūnya Mahāprabhu has been given the name of Svayambhu or Adi Buddha, and Vedamātā of Ādimātā Dharma or Prajñā. In Siddhāntaḍambara the *vija-mantra* of the Bāthuris is said to be "ओं शून्यब्रह्मणे नमः" (Om, salutation to Çūnya-Brahmaṇ). It need hardly be pointed out that this is exactly the *vīja mantra* of the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School also. Not only this vījā-mantra but the gāyatrī of the Bāthuris is also to be found in Siddhānta-ḍambara. It runs as follows:—

"ओं सिद्धदेवः सिद्धधर्म्मः वरेण्यमस्य धीमही ।
भर्गदेवो धीयो यो न सिद्धध्रुवो प्रचोदयात् ॥" (Chap. XII)

"Om, let us meditate upon Him, who is self-revealed and self-sustained, who is Siddhadhruba (*i.e.* "the soul of Siddhavikṣu-saṅgha), who controls and directs our understanding, and who is the only object of adoration by all this animate and inanimate world."

It has been gathered from the lips of an aged *padhariyā* of the Bāthuris that in good old days *gāyatrī* was taken and observed by the great and

* A detailed account of Balarama Dāsa and the Buddhists of his time will be given below.

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pious Bāthuris at the time of their initiation into the religious life; but owing to ignorance nobody nowadays cares to practise it.

Just as it was enjoined upon the Buddhists of yore, at tho time of their initiation to take the *tricarana mantra* of "बुद्ध शरण गच्छामि, धर्मं शरणं गच्छामि, सङ्घं शरणं गच्छामि"—"I resign myself to Buddha, I resign myself to Dharma, I resign myself to Saŋgha," so in later times the krypto Buddhists had to take this *gayatri*, composed in imitation of the Vedic *gayatri*. It goes without saying that this newer form of *gayatri* is simply another version of the triçaraṇa mantra quoted above, its Siddha Deva, Siddha Dharma and Siddha-Dhruva, meaning nothing but Siddhārtha or Buddha, Dharma or Prajñā Pāramitā and Siddha-Saŋgha respectively.

In the remote past the Bāthuris were also known by the name of Bāthula or Bātula. Images of the gods and goddesses worshipped by this people have been disinterred from the ruins of Simlipāla and Ādipurgarh. Amongst these are found images of Acokāntā Mārichi and Prajñā Pāramitā (broken). From the strange combination of the gods and goddesses worshipped by them one might very reasonably consider they belonged to the class of the Tāntrika Buddhists springing from the Mahāyāna School. A broken image of Prajñā Pāramitā has been preserved in a hut in Ādipur on the banks of the river Baitaraṇi. Under the name of "Bāuri Ṭhākurāṇī" (Bāuri goddess) this image was worshipped by the Padhariyās or priests of the Bāthuris. I learnt from the old "Ḍākuās" of the Mahāpātra family of Dasapurgarh that there was also here a magnificent image of the 'Bāuri Ṭhākurāṇī.' It is only about forty-five

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years ago that it was taken away by the Dhāruās. In the first chapter of Kaulāvali Tantra we find a reference to another work of the class, called Bātula or Bāthula-tantra. In Madana-Pārijātā* also we find an extract from, it is said, a great tantra named Bāthula. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Çāstri has discovered an ancient tāntrika work in Nepal, and refers to it under the name of "Bātula Mahātantra.† Another work of this class, entitled Sarvajñanottara Tantra, and written in the Gupta characters, has also been discovered in Nepal. In this Çiva is the speaker and Saḍānana and Ganeça are the listeners. "This was spoken after the completion of the Bāthula-tantra"‡ The speaker in Siddhānta-ḍambara (from which the origin, the Gāyatrī and the *vijamantra* of the Bauris have been extracted above,) is also Çiva and the listener Ganeça. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether or not the word 'Bāthula' in 'Bāthula-tantra' was in any way connected with the Bāthula or Bāthuri tribe.

Though the Bāthuris had to give up (living as they did, under the sway of Hindu kings, moving in an atmosphere of unlimited influence of the Brāhmaṇas, and labouring under many other untoward circumstances) many of their ancient manners and customs,—nay, though some of them went to the length of renouncing their old religion and are now found offering worship to Rāma and Mahāvira, yet their faith has not been wholly shaken, nor have they entirely given up their ancient beliefs and prejudices. They still worship Dharmarāja and Jagan-

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* *Madana Parijata* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 47.

† H. P Castri's Nepal Catalogue, p. Lxvi.

‡ H. P. Castri's Nepal Catalogue, p. Lxxiv.

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nātha who is popularly known as Buddha. In some places they are also found paying the homage of their heart to Çūnya-Brahman (vulgarly known as Baḍām).

BUDDHISM IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

In dwelling upon the history of the *Bathuris* we have attempted to throw, a sidelight upon the existence of a Buddhistic Society in the backward districts of the several Gaḍajāts. We have then hinted that even so far back as the 16th century, although in its fallen condition, Buddhism was a *prevalent and highly influential* creed in Utkal, influencing the thoughts, and lives and purifying the hearts and minds of many thousands of her neglected children outwardly professing other creeds. This side-hint, we are conscious, must have raised, in the minds of thoughtful and inquisitive seekers after truth and knowledge, such questions as, how could the religion of Gautama-Buddha have for centuries held its own under the terrible persecutions of the bigoted Brahmins and the no less bigoted Hindu kings, How were these mute votaries of Mahāyāna faith able to hoodwink the argus-eyed Brahmins and their followers, and inwardly cherish a loving memory of the defunct creed and offer the incense of their loyal devotion at the altar of their god enshrined in the recesses of their hearts? How and where were these unknown and unrecognised little bands of crypto Buddhists maintaining their ground, suffering as they did, innumerable tortures and persecutions, and driven further and further beyond the pale of civilization and society?—These questions and many more must have presented themselves to

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every student of the history of the Bāthuri tribe; so we shall take this opportunity to solve them in the light of the records which we have been fortunate enough to rescue from the jealous clutch of concealment or oblivion.

The names of Achyutānanda Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa and Yaçovanta Dāsa are held in high esteem by the pious Vaiṣṇavas of Utkala—so much so that they have almost come to be household words with them. Besides these, there was also another, equally famous and equally honoured, *viz.*, Chaitanya Dāsa. These six are the principal poets who, with hearts stirred by religious fervour, sang the glories of Çrī Kṛṣṇa, and have, in consequence, been generally regarded (although, wrongly, as we shall show hereafter) as interpreters and champions of Vaiṣṇavism in Utkal. The pious poet Achyutānanda has left us an immortal effusion in his Çūnya Saṁhita. From this we learn that he flourished in the Nīlāchala in the reign of King Pratāparudra of Utkal, about the same time as Chaitanya. Here we also find mention of Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa and Yaçovanta Dāsa,* as his contemporaries. But nowhere does he refer to the illustrious Chaitanya Dāsa. This fact, together with the unmistakable sketch that the latter has drawn of himself in his Nirguṇa Māhātmya,† leads us to believe that he was not their contemporary but flourished shortly after them, and before the reign of Pratāparudra had drawn to a close. It is in any case beyond doubt that by the presence of all these six *Dāsas*

* Cunya Samhitā, Chap. X.
† Nirguna Māhātmya, Chap. XVI.

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(lit., followers or servants)* Utkal was honoured and sanctified early in the beginning of the 16th century.

We have already remarked that these six great souls, permeated through and through with love and devotion towards their Maker, are generally recognised as the principal Vaiṣṇava poets of Utkal, and their works regarded as the principal Vaiṣṇava literature of the country. But we hope and trust we shall be able to make good, from their own utterances, the fact that though they outwardly professed the Vaiṣṇava faith and propagated the Chaitanya cult, yet in their heart of hearts they were but sincere and staunch pioneers and champions of the long neglected, and almost forgotten, religion of the Mahāyāna School.

In his noble work, the Virāṭagītā, Balarāma Dāsa who is regarded as the foremost among these, puts the following lines, expressive of the tenets of the author, into the mouth of Arjuna, while speaking to Çrī Kṛṣṇa—

"तोहर रूप रेख नाहीं। शून्यपुरुष शून्यदेही।
बोलइ शून्य तोर देही। आवर नाम चिन्ह काहीं॥
शून्यरे ब्रह्मचिन्ना थाहि। सेठारे नाम चिन्ह रहि॥"

"Thou hast no form or figure. Thou art but the void personified and embodied. Though possessed of a body, thee I know to be Çūnya,

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* The word 'Dāsa' means here 'one who has known Brahman as he is'—a Brahmajnāni. Thus we find in Cunya Sambitā—

"नाम तत्त्व चिन्हि आत्मातत्त्वगामी नामब्रह्मे थाए आश।
ब्रह्मदर्शी सेहि अवश्य अटइ प्रभुङ्कर सेहि दास॥" १६ अ:।

—He only, who has known the secret of *nama* as well as the secret of the soul, ego, and has rested all his hopes in Brahman as represented by *name*, is the real seer of Brahman and can only be said to be the staunch and faithful follower or servant (Dāsa) (of the lord).

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Void. How couldst thou have other names? Brahman dwells in Çūnya, where there is nothing but name, *i.e.*, sound."

These lines, if properly construed, can hardly mean anything but a clear enunciation of the doctrine of Çūnya which is the kernel of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Further on we again hear Arjuna say :—

"तोर शून्यरूप शून्यदेह। किमा दैत्यारि नामव्यूह॥"

"Çūnya, the Void, is thy form; Çūnya is thy body. How is it then that thou art carrying the name of (*i.e.* art called) Daityāri, Extirpator of Demons?"

And in reply to this, Çrī Kṛṣṇa himself is made to say :—

"मोहर शून्यरे विश्राम। से ठारे कहु अछि नाम॥
मोतो सन्देह लागिला। काहुँतो नाम जात हेला॥"

विराटगीता।

"Çūnya is my resting-place, *i.e.*, when I give up this image, I become identified with Çūnya; and that is, I say, my real name. I am also puzzled to think how and where the name (you speak of) was given to me."

Not only in Virāṭagītā, but in all his works we meet with clear and unmistakable proofs of his belief in the Great Void as being the origin and the end of all the created world. Upon this one point is founded the whole fabric of his theology and religion. Thus in his Brahmāṇḍa-Bhūgola-Gītā, we find Çrī Kṛṣṇa giving the following description of himself to Arjuna :—

"केहि न थिलि हे अर्जुन। महाशून्यरे मोर जन्म॥"

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"There was none (prior to me) O Arjuna. I owe this life of mine to the Great Void, *i.e.*, I came out of it, or I am one with it."

At length in the maṅgalācharaṇa of his Sārasvata-Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa delivers himself of the following prayer to the Maker—

"जय धर्म्म श्री पुरुषोत्तम। अनादि स्तुति परमब्रह्म ॥ १
अव्यक्त पुरुष निराकार हरि। सर्व्व घटे अच्छु ब्रह्मरूप धरि ॥ २
नाहि रेख रूप तोर श्रीविश्वपुरुष। विष्णुर गोचर होइछु प्रकाश ॥ ३
मन-नयन-चित-चेतन नाहि तोर। कर्म्म धर्म्म सर्व्व ठारे छिड़ न थार ॥ ४
महाशून्य तोर नाम। ओंकार शब्द एते वेदान्त आगम ॥ ५"

(१म अध्याय।)

"All glory to thee, the soul of religion, the blessed First Being. I pray to thee, the self-sustained Brahman of Brahmans. Ye unrevealed Person, O Hari (the Destroyer of all troubles and cares), O Lord, thou hast no form, no body. Yet thou art existent inside all bodies, assuming the forms of their souls. O Mighty Omniscient Being, having no form, no image, Thou dost yet reveal thyself to Viṣṇu. Thou art destitute of the mind, the eyes (the senses), the heart, and consciousness, and thou art always above and independent of all works and all religious observances and practices. Thou art (appropriately) styled the Great Void or Cypher. We learn from the Vedānta, that the letter ओ first originated in the void."

—An exposition of the Divine Power, wholly after the doctrine of Buddhism! He is not described as a cypher in the sense of being an airy nothing, but as the essence, the total abstraction, of all powers and activities. God is not a whit denied; on the contrary He is acknowledged to be the origin and the soul of

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all existence. The drift of these lines is clearly this—God is Nature suspended.

That this was the cardinal principle of his religion is further proved, if further proof be necessary, by the following words that Çrī Kṛṣṇa is made to say to Arjuna in the same work (a little below the benedictory preface)—

"श्रीहरि बोइले हो शुण पाण्डु सुत ।
ब्रह्ममहिमा तोते कहिबा वेदान्त ॥
महाशून्यकु जे ब्रह्म बोलि कहि ।
से ब्रह्मरूप होइला निरञ्जन देही ॥
निरञ्जन ठारु हेला परम अवतार ।
परम ठाबरु जीव होइला बाहार ॥"

सारस्वतगीता १म अध्याय ।

"Çrī Kṛṣṇa said 'Hear me, O son of Pāṇḍu. I shall tell you in detail of the glories of Brahman. The Great Void which is said to be Brahman, (once) assumed the form of a *human being* (Nirañjana). And thus (out of the Great Void) came out a grand and glorious Being."

Thus is the theory of incarnation of the Great Void maintained and explained by these veiled followers of Buddha, largely influenced, as they were, by the religion of Çrī Chaitanya.

From the above extracts it is evident that the Çrī Krişṇa and Brahman of Balarāma Dāsa is absolutely one and the same with his Mahā-Çūnya, Çūnya-Puruṣa and Nāma. All that can be said in defence of those who regarded these pious and devout souls as Vaiṣṇava poets is that their religious lives and views were moulded and regulated, to a considerable extent, by the preachings of the Vaiṣṇava masters. And no wonder considering the atmosphere they

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breathed and the pressure brought to bear upon them. Besides, the want of a living example and influence of the Buddhistic faith in their midst helped the Vaiṣṇava creed to gain the upper hand in regulating their faith.

Thus we find Jagannātha Dāsa expressing himself in his Tulā-bhinā—

"सकल मन्त्र तीर्थ ज्ञान । बोइल शून्य ये प्रमाण ॥ (p. 20.)
येते कहिलुं गो पार्ब्बती । ए सर्ब्बे शून्यरे वसन्ति ॥ (p, 20.)
महाशून्यरु शून्य जात । से शून्य प्रणव सम्भूत ॥
प्रणव परमकु कहि । सकल शास्त्र से बोलाइ ॥" (p. 21.)

"The drift and aim of all *mantras*, pilgrimages and knowledge points to the validity of Çūnya."

"All those that I have spoken to you of, O Pārvati, do but dwell in (*i.e.*, are but manifestations of) the Void."

"Out of the Great Void came the Void : and from the Void itself came Praṇava (Oṁ), which is said by all the Çāstras, to be the Parama, the Finalê."

Chaitanya Dāsa also says in his Nirguṇa Māhātmya—

"आत्मा पुरुष भगवान । आत्मा उपरे ताकु चिन ॥ १८०
ए आत्मा परे अछि ब्रह्म । चिह्निले छिण्डइ बन्धन ॥ १८१
ए देह गले ब्रह्म याइ । महाशून्यरे विश्रामइ ॥ १८२
से आत्मा ब्रह्मकु जाणिछि । बान्धि थोइला प्राय अछि ॥ १८३
पिण्डरु छाडि गले प्राण । से घट हुए महाशून्य ॥ १८४
शून्यपुरुष सर्ब्बे थिब । योगिले आउ न पाइब ॥" १८५

१६म अध्याय ।

"Ātmā Puruṣa, the soul, is the Bhagavat (the repository of all attributes). But know him (the

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Nirguṇa) to be above and independent of the soul, *i.e.*, the attributes. Brahman is above this Atman; by knowing Him all the worldly ties are cut asunder. After leaving this body, we go to, and mix up with, Brahma, and rest (eternally) in the Great Void. The soul is ever conscious of, and living in, Brahman and is as though smarting under the (physical) restraints. When the life will depart from the body, the body will become Mahā-Çūnya. (But) I shall live on in the Çūnya-Puruṣa, never to be found even after careful searches."

We find from the above that Chaitanya Dāsa's Nirguṇa-puruṣa clearly means a total abstraction of all phenomenal activities. His Nirguṇa does not mean 'devoid of attributes,' but *above and independent of* attributes, of which the worlds are but manifestations.

Achyutānanda Dāsa's treatment of this doctrine of Çūnya in his Çūnya-Saṁhitā is more lucid and more philosophical. His Çūnya Puruṣa is the only actor on the illusory stage of the world. He observes :—

"भला पचारिलु गुपत सन्धि । शून्यपुरुष शून्य परे बन्दी ॥
शून्यपुरुष उदासरे रहे । शून्यपुरुष सबु माया धारी ॥
शून्यपुरुष दयालु घटर । शून्यपुरुष सर्व्वघटे रहि ॥
शून्यपुरुष करे नट घट । शून्यपुरुष नाचे छन्दकूट ॥
शून्यपुरुष शून्यरे मारर । मारि शूना पुणा गति करर ॥"

" The hidden mystery (of creation) has been well laid bare to me. (It is this). The Çūnya Puraṣa has become (as it were) a prisoner in Çūnya. Though He is the master of all these illusions, having power to spread and draw them in, yet He Himself is quite indifferent to, and keeps Himself quite aloof from, all these. He is exceed-

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breathed and the pressure brought to bear upon them. Besides, the want of a living example and influence of the Buddhistic faith in their midst helped the Vaiṣṇava creed to gain the upper hand in regulating their faith.

Thus we find Jagannātha Dāsa expressing himself in his Tulā-bhinā—

"सकल मन्त्र तीर्थ ज्ञान । बोइल शून्य ये प्रमाण ॥ (p. 20.)
येते कहिलुं गो पार्ब्बती । ए सर्ब्बे शून्यरे अछन्ति ॥ (p, 20.)
महाशून्यरु शून्य जात । से शून्य प्रणव सम्भूत ॥
प्रणव परमकु कहि । सकल शास्त्र से बोलाइ ॥" (p. 21.)

"The drift and aim of all *mantras*, pilgrimages and knowledge points to the validity of Çūnya."

"All those that I have spoken to you of, O Pārvati, do but dwell in (*i.e.*, are but manifestations of) the Void."

"Out of the Great Void came the Void: and from the Void itself came Praṇava (Oṁ), which is said by all the Çāstras, to be the Parama, the Finalê."

Chaitanya Dāsa also says in his Nirguṇa Māhātmya—

"आत्मा पुरुष भगवान । आत्मा उपरे ताकु चिन ॥ १८०
ए आत्मा परे अछि ब्रह्म । चिन्हिले छिण्डइ बन्धन ॥ १८१
ए देह गले ब्रह्म याइ । महाशून्यरे विश्रामइ ॥ १८२
से आत्मा ब्रह्मकु जाणिछि । बान्धि थोइला माध अछि ॥ १८३
पिण्डरु छाडि गले प्राण । से घट हुए महाशून्य ॥ १८४
शून्यपुरुष सर्ब्बे थिब । जाणिले आउ न पाइब ॥" १८५

१६म अध्याय ।

"Ātmā Puruṣa, the soul, is the Bhagavat (the repository of all attributes). But know him (the

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Nirguṇa) to be above and independent of the soul, *i.e.*, the attributes. Brahman is above this Atman; by knowing Him all the worldly ties are cut asunder. After leaving this body, we go to, and mix up with, Brahma, and rest (eternally) in the Great Void. The soul is ever conscious of, and living in, Brahman and is as though smarting under the (physical) restraints. When the life will depart from the body, the body will become Mahā-Çūnya. (But) I shall live on in the Çūnya-Puruṣa, never to be found even after careful searches."

We find from the above that Chaitanya Dāsa's Nirguṇa-puruṣa clearly means a total abstraction of all phenomenal activities. His Nirguṇa does not mean 'devoid of attributes,' but *above and independent of* attributes, of which the worlds are but manifestations.

Achyutānanda Dāsa's treatment of this doctrine of Çūnya in his Çūnya-Saṁhitā is more lucid and more philosophical. His Çūnya Puruṣa is the only actor on the illusory stage of the world. He observes :—

"भला पचारिलु गुपत सन्धि । शून्यपुरुष शून्य परे बन्दी ॥
शून्यपुरुष उदासरे रहे । शून्यपुरुष सबु माया ध्यायी ॥
शून्यपुरुष दयालु बटइ । शून्यपुरुष सर्व्वघटे रहि ॥
शून्यपुरुष करे नट घट । शून्यपुरुष जाणे छन्दकूट ॥
शून्यपुरुष शून्यरे मारइ । मारि शून्य पुणा गति करइ ॥"

"The hidden mystery (of creation) has been well laid bare to me. (It is this). The Çūnya Puraṣa has become (as it were) a prisoner in Çūnya. Though He is the master of all these illusions, having power to spread and draw them in, yet He Himself is quite indifferent to, and keeps Himself quite aloof from, all these. He is exceed-

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ingly kind, being always anxious to free us from the influence of Māyā and dwells inside every created thing. From here He, well versed in craft and cunning, stirs up all the differences and discords (out of sheer kindness, so that we may not lose Him in the illusions). And when in the course of these one murders another, it is really He who murders himself (the same Çūnya Puruṣa being inside both the murderer and the murdered) and frees the murdered from all bondage and gives him the reward of a happy emancipation."

Then he goes on to describe mystically how the Çūnya Puruṣa as Jīvātman has created a world of bondage for himself and how he is reigning there.

"शून्य मन्त्रे शून्यपुरुष धरा । दण्ड धार राजा होइण त्वरा ॥
शून्य पुरुष आपे दण्डि होए । सर्ब्बदोष बाधा न धाइ थई ॥
शून्य पुरुषकु केते भगारि । मारिबा इच्छा घटइ माझारि ॥
शून्य पुरुष वेढ़िछि वेढ़रे । मत शान्ति दया क्षमा पाशरे ॥
एकादश इन्द्र वेढ़ि अछन्ति । काम क्रोध मोह द्वार जागन्ति ॥
द्वादश दलाइ गड़नायक । पचिश प्रकृति पञ्च मनस ॥
षड़ चक्ररे पचाश अक्षर । बाहात्तरि नाड़ी ए गड़ पाशर ॥
गड़ चारि पाशे एमाने द्वारी । शून्य पुरुषकु आन्ति आवरि ॥
शून्य पुरुषरे एतेक तेज । शून्य होइ भोग्य करइ राज्य ॥
शून्य पुरुष अलगे रहिछि । शून्य परे रहि लीला करुछि ॥
न छुअन्ति ताकु पचिश जण । अलगे रहि करे भिन्ना भिन्न ॥
शून्य पुरे शून्य पुरुष रहे । शून्य भजन निराकार ध्याये ॥
द्वाविंश अक्षरे करे भजन । शून्य पुरुष निराकारध्यान ॥

"Çūnya Puruṣa can be taken only through the Çūnya Mantra. He is a king with all the emblems of royalty. (These emblems do, however, mean but restraints put upon himself); and such is the strength and force of these restraints and bonds, the sources of all evils, that though lord of

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them all, He cannot shake them off. He has innumerable opponents and enemies, and is very anxious to free Himself from them. With goodness, mercy, love of peace and forgiveness, about him, He is passing his days, as it were, inside a dungeon, always trying to get out and always opposed. Lust, passion and (mental) infatuation are keeping watch at the gate ; and twelve watchmen are in charge of the fortification. The twenty-five causes, the five minds, the six mystic circles of the body and the fifty letters, and the seventy-two veins and arteries—all these are mounting guard near and about the fortification. By these sentries the Çūnya Puruṣa is surrounded on all sides. O how great is the prowess of the Çūnya Puruṣa !—Though a pure and simple abstraction, yet He is exercising all the rights of royalty. He is, however, quite aloof from all these, and only diverts Himself thus—in no way affected or polluted by them. He is not within the reach of the twenty-five causes, rather He creates differences among them from afar. The Çūnya Puruṣa is living, as it were, inside a Çūnya castle, praying to, and meditating upon, the imageless Çūnya, by means of the thirty-two letters."......

These lines, however crude the philosophy underlying them, mean that the Çūnya Puruṣa, living within ourselves as our soul or Ego, can be realised only if we can throw off the shackles of nature and her concomitant fears and temptations ; and that, though living within us, He is no party to any of our natural propensities and can be reached only by annihilating the mind and resting all our thoughts upon Him as Çūnya Puruṣa.

Then he clearly and unhesitatingly rejects

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the accepted forms of worship, and formulates others which will be hailed as bright and undying sparks from the great fire of Buddhism. His words are :—

"चउद ब्रह्माण्ड उपरे थाइ । शून्य शून्य महाशून्यरे गच्छि ॥
निराकार भजि मा दुर्गा देवी । एणु निर्लेपकु ध्यायन्ति सेवि ॥
तु ये प्रकाशिलु परम सन्धि । ध्यान धारणा आदिमान विधि ॥
अङ्गन्यास करन्यास हिं नाहिं । ध्यानभङ्ग मुद्रा किच्छिहिं नाहिं ॥
ऊर्द्धकर योडि कर तु स्तवे । ऊर्द्धमुख करि कर तुलए ॥
ऊर्द्धमुख करि चितांकु ध्याए । त्रिकूट सन्धि अलेखकु चाहं ॥
निराकार मन्त्र कण्ठ अकरे । बोल बाव् स्वर अठ मुखरे ॥
द्राविंश अक्षर उच्चार कर । नयन न चलु चित्त अक्षर ॥
अचलि थैथने मन्दर रहे । अचलि तेथने ज्योतीन्द्र ध्याये ॥
अचर्ल सुमन निश्चल धर । शून्यपुरुषकु तु लये कर ॥
दिशिब शून्य दिव्यमान काया । निराकाररूप अरूपदेहा ॥"

शून्यसंहिता ७म अः)

"He is above the fourteen worlds; and being himself void goes up to the Great Void. Mother Durgā is worshiping the Formless and is always engaged in praying to the *Nirlepa*, the Absolute. Thou hast laid bare the deepest and most valuable secret. We do now know that the religious injunctions of meditation, steady mental abstraction and the like, the touching of certain parts of the body and certain gesticulations of the hands in worship, the peculiar intertwining of the fingers for the same purpose,—all these are absolutely void and meaningless. We have only to fold our hands together and to lift them up, palms upwards, and with the face decorated with the sacred marks on the forehead and turned up towards the heaven, to offer our prayers. The muttering of set prayers, the telling of the beads of the rosary, are all done away with; and we have, instead, only to look inward—within ourselves. With upturned face, we have to utter

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the Çūnya *mantra* from the mystic circle in the throat. And this *mantra* is nothing but to utter the thirty-two letters, with the eyes fixed upon the circle midway between the eyebrows. When the temple of the body will be motionless, then has the motionless lord of all lustres to be meditated upon. Then the mind has to be made firm and steady and fixed upon and absorbed in the Çūnya Puruṣa. Then will you see the bright and beautiful Çūnya form of Him who has no form, no figure and yet has a body."

Although professing to be Vaiṣṇavas, they interpret the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in a new way, and one quite different from the ordinary Vaiṣṇava point of view. The following extract from the writings of Achyutānanda and Jagannātha will show how under the veil of Vaiṣṇavism this sect propagates in reality some of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna School :—

(a) "जीव आत्मा राधे बलि परम मुरारि ।" (शून्यसंहिता ९म अ: ।)

"Rādhikā is the Jīvātman and Murāri the Paramātman.

(b) "एकाङ्ग ब्रह्मरूप होइ । राधिका हृदे भावयाइ ॥
गोलक नित्य एहा कहि । शून्य देउल ए बोलाइ ॥"

"One and the same with Rādhikā, as being part and parcel of the same body, Brahman, approachable only through the heart, resides in Golaka which is nothing but the Çunyadeul or void." (Jagannātha in his Tulābhinā.)

(c) "परम आत्माटी महाशून्य बलि भाव ।
एहिटि अच्युतानन्द नाम,तत्त्व ठुल ।
उदय ढंयह करै राधा प्रेम जीव ॥"

"Know the Paramātman to be the Mahā-

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Çūnya. Know him, in short, to be the formless source of bliss, to be nothing but the name itself." (Çūnya Saṁhita Ch. 22.)

Here Achyutānanda makes a clearer statement of his doctrines. Hence it is evident that the interpretation given to the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa by these writers does not at all tally with the mythological accounts of the Vaiṣṇavas. The whole subject has been idealised and elaborated in such a way as to signify the relations of man's soul to Paramātman. Jagannātha Dāsa has openly declared that Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and other holy places should not be localised on any map or identified with the actual villages of the same names. In reality they signify Mahā-Çūnya or the Great Void :—

"कृष्णर क्रीड़ारस एहि। गुपत वृन्दावन कहि॥
मथुरापुर महाशून्य। गोपनगर सेहु जाण॥"

—"Such is the meaning of the love-feats of Kṛṣṇa. Vṛndāvana is really a secret place. Mathurāpura means nothing but the Great Void, and this is also the meaning of Gopanagara."

(Tulabhinā Ch. 9.)

The following extract from Brahmāṇḍa-Bhūgola-Gītā of Balarāma Dāsa reads like another version of the origin of the universe given by Rāmāi Paṇḍit* during the ascendancy of the Pāla Kings :—

"जे काले न थिला संसार। न थिला चन्द्र दिवाकर।
न थिलि दिवस रजनी। न थिला मेरु मेदा भूमि॥

* *Vide* Çunya Purāṇa, published by the Vangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, pp. 1-2.

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न थिले थावर पवन । न थिले शून्ये तारागण ॥
न थिले देवासुर नर । न थिले संसार सागर ।
न थिले अस्य तेज बळ । न थिले ब्रह्मा विष्णु हर ॥
से काले शून्य मोर रूप । एमन्ते गला कोटिकल्प ॥
ब्रह्माण्ड मोर गर्भे थिलि । रखिलि ब्रह्मरूप होइ ॥
केहि न थिले हे अर्जुन । महाशून्यरूप मोर जन्म ।
एमन्ते केते दिन अन्ते । दया बळिला मोर चित्ते ॥
सृष्टि करिते वाञ्छा हेला । मो अङ्ग विन्दु उछुळिला ॥
से विन्दु हस्तरे ठेलि । त्रि अङ्गुळि गलाइलि ॥
से विन्दु त्रिय भाग हेला । त्रिबीज रस बळाइला ॥
त्रिबीजरु त्रिय देव । होइले ब्रह्मा विष्णु शिव ॥"

—"When the world was not in existence, when there was neither the sun nor the moon, neither day nor night, neither land nor water, neither the fixed earth nor the inconstant wind, nor were there the sky and the stars in it, when there was no god, no demon, no human being; when there was no world, no ocean, no force, no fire; when there was no Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Hara, then was Çūnya my form, and thus did crores of kalpas pass away. Then did I assume the form of Brahman with the Brahmāṇḍa inside me. There was none, O Arjuna, (to bring me out). I came out of the Great Void. After a pretty long time had thus passed away, my heart was moved and I felt inclined to create the world. Then out of my person did seed begin to ooze. I brushed it off with three fingers of my hand. The seed, thus brushed off, became divided into three parts, charged with three different qualities and out of these three parts of the seed did the three gods of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Çiva come."

In his Ganeça-Vibhūti-tīkā, we find Balarāma

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Dāsa attempting at a description of his Çūnya Puruṣa. He says

"अनाकाररूपं शून्यं शून्यं मध्ये निरञ्जनः ।
निराकारमत्रज्योतिः सज्योतिर्भगवानयम् ॥"

"The Çūnya is devoid of all forms and shapes. In the centre of this Çūnya is Nirañjana, a formless and brilliant figure. It is that shapeless and formless brilliant figure which is Bhagavat, the master of all attributes."

Achyuta Dāsa in his Çūnya-Saṁhitā, Anādi-Saṁhitā, and Anākāra Saṁhitā, uses the terms 'Anākāra,' 'Nirākāra', 'Nirañjana', 'Ajara', 'Anādya' and 'Akṣaya' as synonymous with the term Çūnya ; and these terms have always been employed to describe the indescribable Divine Being. But he has not, like the other Buddhistic preachers of this age, been completely able to shake off the belief in the gods and goddesses as intermediate beings between man and Çūnya. He exclaims :

"बोलन्ति गुरु शुन ब्रजसुत, कहिबा तोते बुझाइ ।
प्रथमरे गुरुविद्या पढ़ाइन्ति ब्रह्मभाग दूरे थोइ ॥
ब्रह्मा विष्णु रुद्र ता परे दुर्गाहि पढ़ान्ति आगेर गुरु ।
साम यजु ऋक् अथर्व ए आदि पढ़ान्ति आद्य ठाकुर ।"

"Guru, the spiritual preceptor, says—Hear me, O Vrajasuta, I shall explain (it) to you in detail. Aim, at the outset, at a knowledge of the Guru, leaving aside all attempts at an acquisition of the knowledge of the Brahman. Know Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Durgā as the first preceptors, being embodiments of the different attributes of the Godhead, and you will gradually learn of the primitive Thākura, the first and foremost God, by studying the Sāma, Yajūs, Rig and Atharva Vedas."

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But his highly spiritual culture convinced him of the uselessness of merely studying books, and he draws a nice distinction between the mere reading of them and an intelligent assimilation of the principles therein laid down with the whole head and heart. The mind will have to be annihilated, and only those principles which help us in identifying ourselves with the Brahman, should be scrupulously observed.

"कोड़िथी गुटियै: फला पढ़ालि रज तमे मन रखि ।
ब्रह्मर भेद तहिँ किछि न पाइ कर्म्ममार्गे मन जगि ॥" ९८

"You have learnt, although not without great trouble, the alphabets of religion and the words produced by their permutations and combinations, whilst your mind was completely under the influence and control of the lower attributes of ignorance and passion. These attributes, as opposed to the third and highest attribute, *viz.*, Sattva, *i.e.*, the spiritualistic tendency, drag us down and keep us bound to the way of karman, work, for salvation. So having the mind absorbed in work (materialism), you have not been able to find the real nature of the Brahman."

"गीता भागवत पुराण पढ़िबा शिखिबा चातुरी बिद्य ।
तत्त्व अनाकार नाम ब्रह्मकि न पाइ व्यर्थ हेब ॥" १०१

(अनाकारसंहिता)

(Unless you are bent upon the salvation of your soul) you will read the Gītā, the Bhāgavata, the Purāṇas and yet learn nothing but tricks and cunning (to impose upon the worldly-minded people). All your pains will be fruitless. You will know nothing of the mystery of the conception of Godhead as devoid of all forms and

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images, which means a complete unification and identification of the *name* and the conception of Brahman."

It is evident from these lines that Achyuta Dāsa laid no stress upon the study of the Hindu religious çāstras. We may study them as much as we like and yet be not a whit improved. Until and unless we thoroughly digest the knowledge that Brahman is absolutely nirākāra and is wholly identical with the nāma itself, we shall be grovelling in the darkness of ignorance and passion. It is also doubtful whether he had any faith in the Brāhmanic customs, though he had not been completely able to rid himself of allegiance to them.

At the end of his work he refers to the scriptures, the main themes of which, he says, are to sing the glories of Çrī Kṛṣṇa; and his own Anākāra-Saṁhitā is simply an epitome of all these. Moreover, the Çrī Kṛṣṇa of these scriptures is not the Çrī Kṛṣṇa of Vaiṣṇavism: it is a pure and simple pseudonym, so to speak, for the Anākāra Çūnya Puruṣa of Buddhism, adopted, as appears likely, to throw dust in the eyes of the jealous Brāhmaṇas. Except for occasional glimpses, to be found in his works, of the spiritual region of the class of thinkers to which he belongs, we have no other proofs to establish their faith in Buddhism. It is for this that they have generally passed for devout Vaiṣṇavas. But to any careful student of religion these glimpses will be quite sufficient to illumine the whole course of their religious tendency. Thus he says :—

"अनाकार जे श्रीब्रह्मसंहिता पञ्च मते कर सार ।
श्रीकृष्णचरणे मरम पशिला दीन अच्युत पामर ॥

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छत्रिश संहिता अष्टोत्तर गीता वंशानुचरत सातरे ।
उपवंशमानु बाविंशखण्ड चेनि भविष्य तेर खण्डरे ॥
पद पदावली लक्ष लक्ष यन्थ सबु श्रीकृष्णमहिमा ।
तो आगे कहिलुं व्रजकुमार ब्रह्मसारस्वतगीता ॥
ए अध्याय गुपत करिण रखिलु बेलरे हेब प्रकाश ।
श्रीकृष्णचरणे शरण पशिला पामर अच्युतदास ॥
व्रजकुल तारि आपणे तरिबि श्रीकृष्णदयाय छडि ।
अव्यक्तहरि अनाकार पुरि तेण पद पुरु अछि ॥"

"Only do think of (*i.e.*, firmly adhere to the injunction laid down in) the Great Brahma-Saṁhitā which deals with the Anākāra. And with this advice to you all, the low and sinful Achyuta Dāsa (meaning himself) resigns himself absolutely to the grace of Çrī Kṛṣṇa. All the scriptures, *viz.*, the thirty-six Saṁhitās, the hundred and eight Gītās and the seven series of the Vaṁçānucharita, the twenty-two volumes of the Upa-Vamçānucharita and the thirteen volumes of the Bhaviṣya, all the religious hymns and songs and lyrics, and hundreds of thousands of other books,—all sing the glory of Çrī Kṛṣṇa. O son of Vraja (*i.e.*, devotee of Çrī Kṛṣṇa), I have already told you of the subject-matter of Brahma-Sārasvata-Gītā. But this chapter (meaning probably a full discussion of Çrī Kṛṣṇa) has been kept secret from you—only to be divulged hereafter. And now the mean and humble Achyuta Dāsa bids adieu to you taking refuge at the feet of Çrī Kṛṣṇa (*i.e.*, resigning himself to His grace). And now, through His grace, not only he, but the whole line of Vraja-Sutas, will be saved. In the realm of Anākāra dwells the unrevealed Hari, and Achyuta has thrown himself completely at His mercy."

From the above quotation, it is clear that this class of Vaiṣṇava poets did not attach

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much importance, if any at all, to the Vedas and the Purāṇas of the Hindus. They had their own scriptures, composed by the highest and greatest amongst them; and a scrupulous adherence to the injunctions and principles here enunciated they considered a better passport for the attainment of Mokṣa.

However veiled the religious views of these poets may have been generally, they, sometimes, out of the fulness of their hearts, allow the expression of their faith to flow in clear and limpid streams. Thus in his Viṣṇu-garbha, we find Chaitanya Dāsa saying:—

"अगोचर पुरुष से नाहि रूपवर्ण ।
एथिति नाहि तार घटे महाशून्य ॥
रूपवर्ण न होई से अरूप तार देहो ।
शून्यर रुइते से शून्य होई थाई ॥
अरूप अवर्ण से लक्ष्य देवाकु नोहिब उपमा ।
चौद्द ब्रह्माण्ड खोजिले नाहि प्रतिसीमा ॥
प्रति तुल्य लक्ष्य से न पाविले कांहि ।
एमन्त महिमा से अलेखर देहो ॥
शून्य रुइते से शून्य शून्य शून्यरूपी ।
शून्य रहते सिमि अछि सकल व्याप्यव्यापी ।
शून्य हिंटि साहार अटइ निजघर ।
शून्यरे थाई से शून्ये करई बेहार ॥"

"Devoid of all forms and figures, He is no subject of experience. There is nothing beyond or above Him in the whole of the Mahāçūnya."

"He has no form, no colour. His body may be said to be the absence of all forms and structures. He is Çūnya, being one and the same with Çūnya."

"He is devoid of all forms and destitute of all colours; amongst the thousand and one gods

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there is none to be any match for Him. Search the whole of the fourteen worlds but nowhere will you find any limit to Him. Even hundreds of thousands of gods will be no whit of a rival for Him—so great is the glory and greatness of that Formless Person. He is mixed up with Çūnya, He is Çūnya, His form is Çūnya, and identified with Çūnya, He is ever over the whole of space."

"His proper home is in Çūnya; and dwelling in Çūnya He makes Himself manifest in Çūnya."

What more convincing proof of their staunch faith in Buddhism can one expect? Here the author has risen above all dread of persecution, and, for once at least, makes bold to announce himself clearly, and without the least shade of ambiguity, as embracing the doctrine of the Void.

But the above are not the only passages that betray these krypto Buddhists. In their scriptures numberless pebbles of faith lie on the shore, and one has only to pick up and examine a few to know that they are but fragments of the mighty Buddhistic structure.

Balarāma Dāsa thus expounds the theory in his Brahmāṇḍa-Bhugola-gītā by way of an address to Arjuna.—

"Listen, O Arjuna, with attention—I am going to explain to you (the principles of) the Bhāgavata. Out of the Great Void came the Void and out of this came *moha*, illusion." (Chap. II). "That which is called *nigama* is in reality the Great Void. It is simply because the end of the Vedas cannot be reached, that they were given the name of Nigama. That which is called *Kalpataru* (lit. a tree bearing, as its fruits, the

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objects of our desires), is really an embodiment of the Formless !"[1]

The above quotations from the great poets of the 16th century leave little room for doubt that Mahāçūnya, the Great Void, which is the cardinal doctrine of the Mādhyamika Philosophy, was also the highest goal of their religious aspirations. It is indeed the case that we very frequently meet with such words of Hindu Philosophy as Bhāgavata, Nigama, Jñānatattva, Haribhakti, Kṛṣṇa-kathā and others in their works; the most casual student of these will, however, admit that belief in Mahāçūnya, the Great Void, is still the mainspring of their religious life. Balarāma Dāsa himself has unmistakably hinted that there is nothing of any value whatsoever in mere nomenclature. His point is, whatever name we may apply, we always refer to one and the same Supreme Being, conceivable in the form of Oṁ and identical with Çūnya Brahman. It is for this reason that the pious Vaiṣṇava poets are found frequently to allude to the name as the sole essence of the universe. Balarāma Dāsa gives the following account of himself in his Guptagītā or Chattiçā—

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[1] "शुण अर्ज्जुन मन देइ । कहिबा भागवत फेर ॥
महाशून्यरु शून्य हेला । से शून्य फल मोर हेला ॥"

(२य अध्याय ।)

"निगम बोलि जाहा कहि । महाशून्यटी से अटइ ॥
वेद अंहि कि न गमिला । तेणु निगम नाम हेला ॥
कलपतरुटी जाहा कहि । निराकारटी रूप सेहि ॥
से डाळ रस बीज गलि । से रस बीज फल फलि ॥
शून्य बोलि ता जाहा कहि । सुधा रसटी से अटइ ॥"

(४र्थ अध्याय ।)

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"Highly pleased to hear this, Arjuna fell prostrate at the feet of Çrī Kṛṣṇa and said 'How will the occult Guptagītā be made known? Be pleased, O my Lord, to tell me through whose lips you will make it public. Çrī Hari answered, "Hear me O Arjuna. I have a favourite son (disciple) named Paduma. He will have a son under the name of Aniruddha. He will, in his turn, pass away in course of time. I, who am known in the Vedas as Brahman Himself, will in the Kaliyuga, assume the form of Dāru-Brahma (Jagannātha). There will then be a king under the name of Pratāparudra. In his time from Somanātha will descend Anirudha by his wife Jamunā. In one of the chapters of Guptagītā it is given out that his son will be named Balarāma Dāsa, through whose lips, says Balarāma Dāsa, will pour out the nectar of the precepts of the Guptagītā."[1]

The following lines, also from his Praṇava

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[1] "शुनि अर्ज्जुन हरुषित हइला । अरणतले पड़ि पचारिला ॥ ४२
गुपतगीता ये होइछि गुपत । कहिरे केमन्ते हेब उकत ॥ ४३
काहा मुखरे एहा कहाइब । ए कथा प्रभु मोते आज्ञा हेब ॥ ४४
श्रीहरि बोइले शुण अर्ज्जुन । पदुम अटइ मोर नन्दन ॥ ४५
ताहार सुत अनिरुध हेब । से पुणि कालरे क्षय होइब ॥ ४६
मु ये वेदर ब्रह्म अवतार । कलियुगे दारुब्रह्मशरीर ॥ ४७
प्रतापरुद्र नामे हेब राए । अहइ तीते से काल संगये ॥ ४८
सोमनाथ नामे पुत्र ताहार । अनिरुध जात ताहार घर ॥ ४९
जमुना नामे ताहार भारिया । अनिरुध हेब ताहार तनुजा ॥ ५०
ताहार नाम बलराम दास । गुपतगीता अध्याये प्रकाश ॥ ५१
बलरामदास गुपत करि । अध्याय करि सेहु लिखे मरि ॥ ५२
ता मुखे कहाइबा गीतारस । भावरे भणिलि बलरामदास ॥ ५३
(११म अध्याय ।)

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Gītā,* are well deserving of quotation in this connection :—

"The Brāhmaṇas listened attentively to my discussion of the principles of the Praṇava Gītā, which are in reality the occult principles of the Gītā based upon the Vedānta Çāstra, from upon the *Mukti-mandapa*. But when they found that it was I who had done this, ceaseless was the torrent of abuse that poured upon me. Even Mahārāja Pratāparudra scolded me severely in great wrath and said "What right have you, a Çūdra, to utter the Praṇava (Oṁ) and discuss the principles of the Vedas? Certainly it is wrong on your part to do so." Hearing this I smiled gently and said "Hear me, O protector of men and master of elephants,—Çrīpati (lit., husband of Çrī, goddess of good fortune, *i.e.*, Bhagavat) is in no body's exclusive possession (as birth-right). He is his who is a good and pious man—be he a Brāhmaṇa or a Chaṇḍāla by birth; of the kind and merciful Jagannātha no body has any monopoly. The vipras are simply boasting, O King, when they say that he is theirs. Vain men, they say this out of *moha*, sheer ignorance. I can make good my case by quoting at random from the Vedas. Upon this the vipras got furious and cried.:—"Ask him immediately to do this." And at this the king ordered 'Well then maintain your position, O Vaiṣṇava, as you say.' I replied, 'Hear me, O King. You seem to have been highly annoyed. However, be pleased, O King, to go to the place of our King with the whole troop of your Brāhmaṇas. With the grace of our Lord he will explain by quoting lines from the Vedas and the Vedānta all that you may be pleased to ask of him.'

* In some MSS. the name is Pralamba-Gītā.

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Then the King strengthened himself upon his point as far and as much as he could, and triumphantly went there. In the meanwhile the viṣayī (adviser) went and informed chhāmu-karaṇa (private secretary) of what had happened. But afraid to go back home, I remained at the foot of the banian tree. At dead of night Narahari smiled pleasantly and said merrily, 'I do always dwell in the heart of the *largest lotus* (*sahasra-dala padma*). Not aware of this the king and the Brāhmaṇas quarrel with my votaries. (But they should know that) my votary is my life (so to speak).' Saying this He went away. The next morning the king remembered (my challenge) and came (to my place) with the vipras. Dull and ignorant from birth and fond of quarrel-ing, the king was very angry and quarrelled with the votaries. He had a çūdra brought before him and ordered him again to explain the Vedas. Upon this I became all of a sudden unconscious of my body, *i.e.*, became absorbed in a trance and lived in the soul. And thus I thought within myself, 'I have been slighted before the king. The vipras about him have laughed me to scorn. Murāri, the destroyer of all fears and dreads— O Narahari, do come to me. I do beseech Thee.' And when I was thus praying within myself, I heard the reassuring voice of Hari—Dāmo-dara, dotingly fond of his votaries—standing before me in a vision out of pity and kindness. Then thus reassured, and concentrating my mind upon the thought of Çrī Hari, I said "Hear me, O best of Kings, it is no fault of ours then that you want to hear the principles of the Vedas from the lips of a Çūdra. If you do this, you will lose in virtue. This Jaḍa is dumb and ignorant and maintains himself by begging alms in Kṣetra. You yourself know this and

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will not therefore, I pray, be offended at what I say.' But Kṛṣṇa whispered Sārasvata knowledge in the ears of Jaḍa and I placed my hand upon his head. He looked up and smiled. The Vipras said, 'If he can say this, we shall acknowledge ourselves defeated by a dāsa (çūdra).' Hearing this my indwelling spirit got enraged and called aloud, 'Be pleased, my friend Jaḍa, to say your say.' Then Jaḍa said 'Hear me, O king, I shall clearly tell you the details of creation. From the *Nitya*, the Eternal and Absolute, sprang Çūnya into existence, out of which came Praṇava. From this Praṇava again did Çabda, come out and from the Çabdas the Vedas were developed; and from these again the whole creation came into being. This is what we learn from the Vedānta." At this the king and all the vipras present were completely taken aback. After a pause the king said out of great delight, 'Hear me O Dāsa. Siddhi is certainly within your reach. You are no doubt a very great man blessed in the possession of all knowledge. It cannot be that this çūdra has said all this; (he must have done so under an inspiration from you) who are the master of all secrets. Be pleased to delight me by pouring into my ears the honey of *Bhedajnāna*, (knowledge arising out of the consciousness of difference). This çūdra Jaḍa is a great dullard. He can never speak of the beauties of the Vedas; otherwise these will be disgraced and lowered in the estimation of the public. You are a well-informed and wise man. Please explain to me the beauties of the Vedānta." I was much pleased to hear the words of the king and thus prayed "O Chakradhara, (lit., one holding the discus in his hand) O Dāmodara, you who are so fond of your votaries, and who

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are the overthrower of the proud and the vain-glorious, and the extirpator of demons, you have saved me in this crisis. Be pleased again to help me up so that I may so successfully explain the essential principles of the Vedānta before the vipras that the king will be highly pleased to hear me." My mind was then filled with delight at the idea that with the kind favour of my Lord I shall be able to disperse the cloud of doubt that had gathered over the minds of the vipras; and it was soon concentrated upon the thought of the Lord. Then slowly but steadily He became visible before my mental eyes and the Bhedajñāna, in the form of a dialogue between Çrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, illumed the recesses of my mind. And this instruction delivered in response to the request of Çrī Sāmanta Deva, which I learnt from the lips, as it were, of the Creator, is the honeyed essence of the Praṇava Gupta-Gītā of this humble Balaram Dāsa (*i.e.*, my humble self)."[1]

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[1] "मुकति-मण्डप परे विप्रे । वेदान्त शास्त्र गीता गोष्ठे ॥ ५
विचार पुच्छिलि सभीरे । अपार गीतार विचारे ॥ ६
तहिं देखिले विप्र मोते । अधिकारी नाहिं देले जते ॥ ७
केते कहिलि ताङ्क नाहिं । शास्त्र भागे मो गहाणि ॥ ८
प्रतापरुद्र महाराजा । कोपे बोइले बड़ पर्ज्जा ॥ ९
शूद्र वेदवादमान । कि अधिकारी शूद्रमान ॥ १०
एमन्त उचित नो हइ । ता शुणि लज्जिलइँ मुइ ॥ ११
शुण हे नृप गजपति । काहारि नोहन्ति श्रीपति ॥ १२
भक्त वत्सल से हरि । विप्र चाण्डाल से आदि करि ॥ १३
करुणामय जगन्नाथ । काहारि नोहन्ति एकत ॥ १४
विप्रे जे बोलन्ति आम्भर । गर्व्व करन्ति नृपवर ॥ १५
मोह बोइले तुम्भ जन । वेद कहिब अनुपम ॥ १६
शुणि कोप्पे विप्रगणे । ए कहुँ वेद देहा खणे ॥ १७
शुणि नृपति काहा कला । कह हे वैष्णव बरला ॥ १८
आम्भे बोइलु शुण नृप । तुम्भे त कर बड़ कोप ॥ १९

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From Balarāma Dāsa's account of himself we learn that it was during the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra Deva that he first came into prominence. For some time he was held

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काशि प्रभाते विप्रगण । नृपति थिवटे आवण ॥ २०
जाहा विचारि पचारिव । मूर्ख राजाकु देखाइव ॥ २१
वेदवेदान्त ए कहिव । श्रीहरि कृपाए हइव ॥ २२
शुणि रामन हृद कला । विजय करि गृहं गला ॥ २३
एमन्ते बइ अवकाशे । कामुखे जनाइलें विप्रे ॥ २४
वटमूलरे मु रहिलि । उभये घरकु न गलि ॥ २५
महानिशारे नरहरि । हसि कहन्ति हुंकरि ॥ २६
वर कमल वेनि स्थाने । दिवइ मुर अनुखने ॥ २७
विप्रे नृपति न जानन्ति । भक्तकु विवाद करन्ति ॥ २८
भक्त मोहर निज प्राण । कहि चलिले नारायण ॥ २९
प्रभाते राजा सभे थिला । विप्रङ्क वेनि चलिगला ॥ ३०
क्रोध करिण नरपति । भक्तकु विवाद करन्ति ॥ ३१
विवाद सभरे नृपति । जन्मरु मूर्ख जड़मति ॥ ३२
आणिला एक शूद्र जन । बोइला बड़ वेद पुण ॥ ३३
ता शुणि साहसा मोहर । अज्ञान होइला शरीर ॥ ३४
मने विचार करि मुं । लज्जा होइलि राजा ठाइं ॥ ३५
विप्रे अहन्ति राजा पाश । करिबे हास परिहास ॥ ३६
आतङ्गनाशन मुरारि । डाकिलि आर्त्त नरहरि ॥ ३७
तहिंरि विचारइ मने । हरि जे कहिले स्वपने ॥ ३८
भक्तवत्सल दामोदर । करुणा करि ए ठार ॥ ३९
एनु भरसा करि मन । श्रीहरि हृदे करि ध्यान ॥ ४०
बोलइ शुण नृपवर । नाहिटि कोप हे मोहर ॥ ४१
शूद्रमुखरु वेदवाणी । तुम्भे शुणिव जेवे पुणि ॥ ४२
मूर्ख मोन जड़ा एहि । रूपवन्त मागि खाइ ॥ ४३
ताहार ज्ञान नृपवर । ए मोर दोष हे न धर ॥ ४४
कृष्ण बोलिण मार कर्णे । बोइला सारस्वत ज्ञाने ॥ ४५
शिररे कर देलि मुहि । हसिला जड़ामुख चाहिं ॥ ४६
विप्रे बोइले ए कहिब । दाहिडे निश्चय होइब ॥ ४७
ता शुणि क्रोध मोर टेकी । डाकिलि कड़ जड़ा भाइ ॥ ४८
जड़ा बोलइ शुण राजा । निश्चय कहिबि सृष्टि सर्जा ॥ ४९
नित्यरु शून्य होए जात । शून्यरु प्रणव सम्भूत ॥ ५०

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in esteem and treated with consideration by this king, though afterwards for certain reasons he had to retire from the stage of the Court and pass his days in disguise and concealment.

At his death Pratāparudra Deva was succeeded by Rājā Mukunda Deva, and the political firmament of Utkala began to be convulsed with stupendous changes. Mukunda Deva was a zealous supporter of the cause of Buddhism. Under his auspices Balarāma Dāsa re-entered

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प्रणव शब्द जनमिला । शब्दु वेद ये होइला ॥ ५१
वेदु सकल सृष्टि होइ । एमन्ते वेदान्त बोलाइ ॥ ५२
ता शुणि राजा विप्रगण । चकिते न फुरे वचन ॥ ५३
बोइले नृपति आनन्दे । शुण हे दासे सिद्धि साधे ॥ ५४
तुम्भे महत बड़ लोक । जाण सकल ज्ञानसुख ॥ ५५
ए शूद्र न कहु ए वाणी । तुम्भे सकल परिमाणी ॥ ५६
कह भेद ज्ञानरस । शुणि ता होइबु सन्तोष ॥ ५७
शूद्र पापक मूर्ख जड़ा । एहु न कहु वेदलीळा ॥ ५८
वेदकु निन्दिला हेउ । जमरे विकृत सुभिव ॥ ५९
विप्रङ्क करि नमस्कार । भाषा प्रकृतरे विचार ॥ ६०
तुम्भे त सुविज्ञ पुरुष । कह वेदान्तविचारस ॥ ६१
शुणि राजनर वचन । शुणि सन्तोष हेला मन ॥ ६२
बोलइ शुण चक्रधर । भक्तवत्सल दामोदर ॥ ६३
गर्द्दगज्ञम दैत्यारि । तारिलु ए उड्डु हरि ॥ ६४
एबे करुणा कर मोते । कहिबि विप्रङ्क आगते ॥ ६५
शुणि नृपति हेब तोष । वेदान्तसारज्ञानरस ॥ ६६
विप्रङ्क सन्देह फिटिब । मोते करुणा प्रभु हेब ॥ ६७
एते जनाइ मो आनन्द । मने चिन्तिल पद्मपाद ॥ ६८
तत्क्षणे पद मो उपरि । प्रवेश होइला सधीरे ॥ ६९
श्रीकृष्ण अर्जुन संवाद । मने प्रवेश हेला भेद ॥ ७०
श्रीरामानन्द देव संवाद । जा कहिले पद्मपाद ॥ ७१
कहे ए बलराम दास । प्रणव शब्दगीतारस ॥ ७२

(ब्रह्मगीता १म अ.)

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the arena of religion which he had left during the latter part of the reign of Pratāparudra. And this has probably been represented as his second birth. From the following extract we get a faint glimpse into the political condition of Utkala during the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra :—

"A very curious anecdote is related of his conduct, which seems to show that the followers of Buddha continued to form a sect of importance in this part of India until the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is said that a serious robbery happened in the Rājā's palace, and that he (Pratāparudra) being anxious to discover the perpetrators, assembled together all the wise men, both of the Buddhist and the Brahminical persuasion, to obtain their assistance in prosecuting an investigation. The Brāhmins could tell nothing but the followers of Buddha, through their knowledge of the occult art, were enabled to point out both the offender and the place where the stolen property was concealed. The Rājā was induced by this incident to form so high an opinion of the learning and skill of the Buddhists, that he became for some time a warm supporter of that sect. His Rāṇī, on the other hand, espoused zealously the cause of the Brāhmins. It was at last determined to make another formal trial of their relative skill as men of science and magicians. Accordingly a snake was secretly put into an earthen jar, the mouth of which being covered up, the vessel was produced in a great assembly at the palace. Both parties were then asked what the jar contained. The Brahmins answered,—"It contains only earth ;" and sure enough, when opened it was found to contain nothing but earth. This specimen of skill entirely changed the Rājā's opinions, but he now became as violent against

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the Buddhists as he had been before prejudiced in their favour—so much so that he not only withdrew his protection and countenance, but violently expelled the whole sect from his dominions, and destroyed all their books. It is added that about this time Chaitanya Mahāprabhu came from Nadia in Bengal to visit the temple of Jagannātha, and that he performed miracles before the Rājā".*

Though the Buddhists were persecuted during the time of Pratāparudra Deva, yet they succeeded, as we learn from other sources, in securing largely the patronage of his son and successor Mukunda Deva. Thus the Tibetan work Pogsom says—"Mukunda Deva (Dharma Rāja), king of Otivisa (Orissa) who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He, too, did some service to the cause of Buddhism."

Indeed we may, on the authority of Praṇava Gītā, make bold to assert that although Balarāma Dāsa generally passed for a Vaiṣṇava, yet he was, while in the court of Pratāparudra Deva, but a staunch champion of the doctrine of Çūnya as inculcated by the Mādhyamika philosophy.

From the contemporary events of the times of Rājā Pratāparudra we glean that jealousies of the Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍits and persecutions by the king soon turned the court into a bed of thorns for Balarāma Dāsa who, in consequence, retired not only from it but from society altogether. This swelling tide of persecution soon drove the Bāthuris or Bāuris and other kindred tribes into dense jungles and tractless forests. This point has, however, been already dealt with at some length in connection with our treatment of the

* Sterling's *Orissa*. (Edition of 1904) pp. 80 -81.

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Bāthuri tribe ; so we content ourselves here with only a passing reference. It will now, we hope, become clear after our repeated quotations from the writings of Balarām Dāsa, that the sole burden of his religious and poetical effusions was the doctrine of the Great Void, as promulgated by Nāgārjuna and forming the nucleus of the Mādhyamika philosophy. In his works on Advaita philosophy Çankara tried to refute the doctrine of Çūnya and to establish in its place that of Brahman ; while Balarāma Dāsa, though largely borrowing from the Vedānta, went against the Advaitavādins and advocated the cause of the Great Void. Now, we presume, on the strength of these facts we may justly assert that Balarāma Dāsa was really a veiled follower of Buddhism, or a Vaiṣṇava-Buddhist.

In the last chapter of his Gupta Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa discloses the central idea that regulated his whole life—although indeed it is apparent in every line of his writings, if one would but look for it. Thus he says :—

"Again Arjuna asked Vāsudeva to tell him the particulars about the Gupta Gītā, as there were some who thought that it would again be published in the world, (1). Çrī Hari replied "Hear then O Arjuna—In the twenty-seventh aṇka of king Mukuṇḍa Deva, there will live a man named Çani Paṭanāyaka (2-3). The servant of the meek and humble will call on him and blessing him will sit by his side (4). Seeing him carry the Gupta Gītā under his armpit, Paṭanāyaka will address him thus (5). 'What book is there under your armpit and why do you travel about with it ? (6). We are anxious to learn the truths that are discussed in it. So be pleased, Ye Dāsa, to tell us these wise instructions.' (7). Dāsa said,

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"It is Gupta-Gītā.—Listen to me, if you are curious." (8). He will just open the book, write Oṁ, touch it with his hand and placing under it a circle or Çūnya-maṇḍala, explain to him its meaning (9-10). as consisting of the three letters अ,उ and म with इं, म and ल (11). The ṣaṭ-chakras (the six mystic circles) are placed in the Om; and inside that are the fourteen worlds. (12). When he will learn thus far of the Gītā, his curiosity and eagerness will much increase; (13). and he will ask "Is there anything beyond this? Be pleased to tell me again—I want to know something more. (14). This Gītā, so highly pleasant and interesting, is a sealed book. So I am anxious to hear it from your lips:" (15) Hearing him thus, Dāsa will delight his soul by saying, (16). 'It was I myself who wrote this Gītā in the previous birth But then only the first chapter was done. (17). I shall, however, go on telling you the whole Gītā now. So be all attention.' (18). Upon these words, I thought within myself, highly pleased with his great devotion, "I shall enter his heart and inspire him with the knowledge of the Gītā. (20). Balarāma Dāsa will give that out in words; and (the book thus composed) will be complete in thirty-five chapters." (21). But including the previous one, Balarām Dāsa dealt exhaustively with it in thirty-six chapters. (22). Hearing him Çani Paṭnāyaka, with his three sons, worship him and become his disciples." (23). (Gupta Gītā, Chap. 36.)[1]

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[1] "शुणि बलराम वासुदेव पुरुष गुपत कथा विचार ।
कोंण भावे पुन: गुपतगीता जे संसारे हेब प्रचार ॥ १
श्रीहरि श्रीहस्ते गुप्त बलराम । मुकुन्द देव बलि राजन ॥ २
सेहि राजार समाहस पढे । बेबर्त्ता शनि पटनायके ॥ ३

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After this there can be no room for doubt that Balarāma Dāsa had, as his mystic symbol, the words, "Om, Çūnya maṇḍalāya namah" (Om, adoration to the great circular void). Gaṇeça-vibhūti is the name of his another work. In an old commentary on it, entitled *Siddhānta-dambara*, by the author himself, the mystic symbol is given in the words "Oṁ Çūnya Brahmaṇe namah" (Om, adoration to the formless Brahman). Although differently expressed, the two symbols refer but to one and the same thing. And it goes without saying that the idea underlying these mystic symbols is also the cardinal doctrine of the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

ताहांकु भेटिल हीनद दासे । कल्याण करिब बसिब पाशे ॥ ४
गुप्तगीता अन्या शिव आख्ये । ताहु पचारिबे पटनायके ॥ ५
कि पुस्तक दासे अछि आखरे । केहि पुथि दासे कहिब धरे ॥ ६
आम्भे पुण किना कि कि रहछ । दासे बोइले ज्ञान उपदेश ॥ ७
गुप्तगीता अध्याय अःठ । गीता जन्मे हेब शुण कहइ ॥ ८
प्रथमे पुथि फेडिण कहिबे । ओंकार दापि ज्ञान मारि देबे ॥ ९
शून्यमध्यमध्ये तातन्त हेइ । ताहाकु दासे कहिबे भेदाइ ॥ १०
अकार उकार मकार तिनि । ईकार मकार अकार घेनि ॥ ११
ओंकार मध्ये षटचक्र ध्यान । तथि भितरे चौद्द भुवन ॥ १२
से गीता अध्याय पुस्तिका जहुँ । एथा मानव बद्दिला तहुँ ॥ १३
एतिकि गीता कि अछिक अछि । केउँ कड किना पचिशा छिछि ॥ १४
ए ये गुप्त महारसगीता । आपन कड हउ गीता ॥ १५
ताहाकु वचन पुछिब दासे । पठन करिबे ता माउ पाशे ॥ १६
पूर्व्वे जन्म आम्भ ए गीता कथा । प्रथम अध्याय कोइथिला ॥ १७
एबे आम्भे गीता कहिबा रहि । तुम्भे शुण किना श्रवण देइ ॥ १८
से पुथि मोर हाम्भे जणाइ । अनेक भक्तिरे प्रसन्न होइ ॥ १९
मु तार हृदरे पशिबि जाइ । गीता ताहाकु देखियि अछि ॥ २०
तेणु कहिब बलराम दास । पञ्चविंश अध्याय हउ शेष ॥ २१
पूर्व्वे अध्याय घेनि कहिब हरि । बलराम दास कहे विस्तारि ॥ २२
पुस्तिक मनि पठनायक । तिन इत्र घेनि करि सेवक ॥"

(गुप्तगीता २६ अध्याय ।)

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Similarly. Achyutānanda was also a follower of esoteric Buddhism, though openly professing Vaiṣṇavism. Thus, in spite of his profession as a follower of Çrī Chaitanya and disciple of Sanātana Gosvāmin, he incurred the severe displeasure and open hostility of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas of the court of Rājā Pratāparudra for his openly upholding the doctrine of the Çūnya before that very monarch. To this he thus refers in his Çūnya Saṁhitā.—

"Pratāparudra Deva urged me strongly, and pressure was also brought to bear upon me in the temple. I was asked 'Hear me, O Dāsa, tell me from what *mantra* your *bhajana-mantra* is derived. Of Anāma (the nameless), Nāma (the name), the Kāmavījas, and the revolving in mind of the twenty-four-worded Gāyatrī, tell me which one is your favourite; and furnish me, O Dāsa, with a clear exposition thereof.' The ingenious arguments put forward by the Brāhmaṇas though fallacious made the king dubious in mind. He added, 'The Brāhmaṇas are known to be well acquainted with the mantras. They are supposed to possess Brahmajñāna and to know the mantras and the rules laid down in the Çāstras. These Bāhmaṇas have urged me strongly to ask you to explain without delay, and clearly and lucidly, the worship of the Çūnya.' Then, there, in a clearly visible place, I put down the thirty-two letters in the following manner. Nāma was placed under the Anāma, and thus was Kāmavīja written. The five classes (of consonants) and the twelve mātrās were placed; and also the *yantra* was drawn and placed there. Having seen this the Brāhmaṇas were thunderstruck, and said 'Yes, Dāsa, you know the real truth and the underlying import of things. The knowledge of truth and reality is very abstruse and mysterious. Therefore

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do speak to us of *tattva* clearly and lucidly. You have indeed placed very mysterious words before us, writing Anāma, Nāma and the Kāmavījas and Om in a descending series. This is strange and has never been observed before, and is in reality such as has never been mentioned in the Purāṇas. Where have you learnt this, O Dāsa, and who are they that worship according to this? And who is there that worship Nāma? Conversant with all these *tattvas*, as you seem to be, be pleased to explain this to us.' Thus the Brāhmaṇas did urge me very strongly. The king also again said to me 'Hear me, O Dāsa, You have drawn the *yantra*. Now be pleased to tell us the *mantra*, and the manner in which you perform your worship with that mantra. Furnish me (in short) with a clear exposition of all these.' Hearing again this peremptory request of the king, I felt rather distressed in mind and said 'Hear then O King, my *mantra* is *nirākāra* and I worship the Çūnya. Āsanaçuddhi (purification of the seat) and Aŋganyāsa (the touching of certain parts of the body as enjoined by the Çāstras) are not needed, nor have Sthānabhaŋga and Dikbandhana to be observed. One has to sit in Çūnya and worship, to destroy death and go to Golaka (the place of eternal bliss). The subject of this worship is only Nāma. Because, where is there anything beyond it? Then 'What does this Dāsa say?' saying this the Brāhmaṇas sprang up and prepared to go away. They said further 'Let the king have a test of how the worship of the Çūnya is to be performed. Even here this Dāsa must submit to this examination.' Again one of the Brāhmaṇas smiled and said 'Let him be dropped down into the waters of a well and let's see how he draws his *yantra* there and worships his Çūnya.' Thus confusion and disorder reigned there. The king

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forgot all about the *mantra* and was carried away by the desire for examining me. When thus confusion and disorder prevailed, the God of the ocean of mercy took compassion on me. The Brāhmaṇas set up a loud uproar and none cared to examine my *mantra*. Knowing that if what the Lord has made a secret of, were to be revealed by the king, there would be no end of the terrible difficulties and dangers that would beset him, my mind was rather set at rest by this confusion. But the Great Lord who is the healer of all troubled hearts again spread a confusion (amonst the Brāhmaṇas). At this time when there was a loud clamour, the King took me by the hand and went away to the widest street. Even here the crowd mustered so strong that there was a loud uproar arising from the people elbowing one another.

"The king said 'Now commence your worship just here near the empty well at Bānkimuhānā. Let these Brāhmaṇas see you submit to an examination of your secret worship before us.' Upon this I was greatly afraid in mind. I then drew my mind away from the numberless people around me, placed the thirty-two letters upon my heart and sitting straight up from the navel became absorbed in meditation. Then with upturned face, I annihilated the mind and concentrated myself upon the idea of the Nirākāra. Having thus lifted life up, I was soon sitting in the void and lost in the idea of Paramahaṁsa. The king was startled to see this and the Brāhmaṇas were thunderstruck. They were pondering in silence—who it is that has thus revealed the unrevealed!—Having seen all this the king became convinced, and mildly and sweetly said "Come, come Dāsa." He then embraced me and I was pleased to hear these reassuring words, 'Hear me,

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Achyuta Dāsa. Go and live near Bāŋkimuhānā. It is because the name of Achyuta or Inseparable was not disgraced that the worship of Nirākāra Çūnya was made possible. Certainly it is a deep mystery and the manner in which you have explained it has much pleased me.' The king then went away from there, and the Brāhmaṇas thus greatly mortified and humiliated could say nothing. Thus we five* came out of the great and difficult ordeal we were made to undergo and we got a good and secluded place where we plunged into the meditation of Çūnya."[1]

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* The five are Achyuta Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Yaçovanta Dāsa and Ananta Dāsa.

1 "एतावहुद्र देव कटाक्षिला । देखन्ते बहुत पाकट हेला ॥
बोइले दाण्ड पुण मोर ठाव । भजनमन्त्र केउं मन्त्र ठाव ॥
अनाम नाम कामबीजमान । गाइवी अच्छि अाचार भजन ॥
केउं मन्त्र गोठि इष्ट तुम्भर । कह देखि दाण्ड तत्त्व विचार ॥
ब्राह्मणे अति चतुर कहिले । राजन मनकु चञ्चल कले ॥
येके ब्राह्मण मन्त्रे पण्डित । जानन्ति ब्रह्मज्ञान-मन्त्र-विधि ॥
बहुत कटाक्ष कले मो ठारे । अच्युतदाण्ड कह ए सत्वरे ॥
आचारे पाये मोते कहि देले । शून्यभजन कहतु बोइले ॥
से ठाकु हुअा हेले मते वेनु । दाविंशाक्षर स्थापिछि मु तेणु ॥
अनामतले नामकु देइण । कामबीज योमिनि कि लेखिण ॥
पञ्चशंण वार माला देइण । यन्त्रे लेखि करिनुं स्थापन ॥
देखि ब्राह्मणे हेले चमत्कृत । बोइले दाण्ड जाण तत्त्व अर्थ ॥
बोलि बोलि दाण्ड [illegible] तत्त्व । तत्त्वबोध दाण्ड अति गुपत ॥
गहण कथा स्थापिलाक तुम्भे । कह दाण्ड देखि पृथिमा आम्भे ॥
अनाम नाम कामबीजमान । ओंकार स्थापि तहिं तले पुण ॥
एत अक्षय अनुभव कथा । पुराण ग्रन्थे शुणिवाकु यथा ॥
काहुं शिखिले दाण्ड एता पृथि । एहाकु केउं भजनरे पृथि ॥
केउं भजन अटे नामर । तत्त्व बोधा दाण्ड कह निकर ॥
बहुत कटाक्ष ब्राह्मणे कले । राजन काहुरे पृथि कहिले ॥
राजन बोइले पुण हे दाण्ड । यन्त्र स्थापिल मन्त्र कह तोते ॥

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The doctrines of the Çūnyavāda as discussed above are akin to those which obtain amongst the Buddhists of Nepal even now. The nature and meaning of the "Great Void" will be understood from the explanation given by Mr. Hodgson on the authority of the Buddhistic scriptures of Nepal :—

"Mahā-Çūnyatā is, according to some, Svabhāva and according to others Īçvara. It is

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किरूपे ए मन्त्र भजन कर । कह दासे देखि एथि विचार ॥
पुणि पुणि राजा कटाक्ष कला । शुणि मो मने सङ्कट पड़िला ॥
बोइलि तुम्भे शुण हे राजन । मन्त्र निराकार शून्यभजन ॥
आसनमुद्रा अङ्गन्यास नाहिँ । ध्यानमन्त्र दिक्‌बन्धन नाहिँ ॥
शून्यरे वसि भजन करिव । काहाकु नाहिँ गोलकरी ठाव ॥
ए भजन नाम अटइ एहि । एथुँ अधिक आउ पुन नाहिँ ॥
ब्राह्मणे शुणि चलिण उठिले । दासे कि कहन्ति बलि बोइले ॥
बोइले ये दासे शून्यभजन । राजन एहा करन्तु प्रच्छन्न ॥
शून्यभजन किरूपे करिवे । दासे परीक्षा एहि ठारे देवे ॥
एक ब्राह्मण बोइलेक हसि । कूप कि बाम्फि याइण गिरसि ॥
देखिबा दासङ्कु शून्यभजन । किरूपे यन्त्रकु करे स्थापन ॥
एमन्ते कहन्ते घन्टोल हेला । मन्त्र छाड़ि राजा परीक्षे भोला ॥
गोल घन्टोल एमन्ते लागिला । कृपा-जल-निधि करुणा थिला ॥
गोलरे ब्राह्मणे मानि रहिले । मन्त्र पच्छिम केहि ये करिले ॥
से ठाब मन होइला उछत । जाणिलि प्रभु कलेत गुपत ॥
राजन येवे पच्छिम करन्ता । विपद आपद माड़ि पड़न्ता ॥
महाप्रभु से आरतभञ्जण । काणि घन्टोल लगाइले पुन ॥
एमन्ते पहरे गोल लागिला । राजन मोते धरि वेषि गला ॥
बड़दाण्डरेत होइला गोल । ठेलाठेलि लोके अति गहल ॥
बाहिमुहाणि शून्य-बाम्फि ठारे । भजन कर दासे एहि ठारे ॥
देखन्तु येतेक ए द्विजवर । प्रच्छन्न परीक्षा आम्भ ठाकुर ॥
शुणि मो मनरे लागिला भय । अनन्त मुरति कलिमु जय ॥
डाविंग अघर छुटे ध्याविलि । नाभि परे वसि ध्यान मुं कलि ॥
ऊर्द्धमुख करि कलिमु लय । निराकार रूप कलिमु ध्याय ॥
प्राण ऊर्द्ध करि शून्ये रहिलि । परमहंसे चित्त बुड़ाइलि ॥

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like the ethereal expanse, and self-sustained. In that Mahā-Çūnyatā, the letter A, with the Vīja Mantra of Upāya and the chief of all the Vīja Mantras of the letters, became manifest."

(Rakṣābhagavatī.)

"He whose image is Çūnaytā, who is like a cypher or point, infinite, unsustained (in Nivṛtti), and sustained (in Pravṛtti) whose essence is (Nivṛtti), of whom all things are forms (in Pravṛtti), who is the Īçvara, the first intellectual essence, the Ādi Buddha, was revealed by his own will. This self-existent is he whom all know as the true Being; and, though the state of Nivṛtti be his proper and enduring state, yet for the sake of Pravritti (creation), having become Pancha-jñānātmikā, he produced the five Buddhas thus:—from Suviçuddha-dharmadhātuja-jñāna, Vairochana, the supremely wise, from whom proceed the element of Ākāsa, the organ of sight and colours; and from Adarcana-jñāna, Akṣobhya, from whom proceed the element of air, the organ of hearing and all sound; and from Pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna, Ratna-sambhava, from whom proceed the element of fire, the organ of smell, and all odours; and from Çāntajñāna, Amitābha, from

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देखिण राजन हेले चकित । ब्राह्मणे देखि होइला स्थगित ।
योके आचम्बित रहिले । गुपत प्रघट केमता कलि ॥
राजन देखिण परते गले । दामे आम बलि आटु कहिले ।
कोलि करिण करी आलिङ्गन । कहि तोषिले आम्भर वचन ।
एम आम्भ बाणी अच्युतदास । वाक्सिद्धाणे कर ये निवास ॥
अच्युत नाम अच्युत नहं सेण । निराकार शून्यभजन तेण ॥
अतिहि गुपत अच्युतदास । तत्त्वबोध दास अनि हरष ॥
से ठाब राजन चलिनु गले । साजे ब्राह्मणे किछि न कहिले ॥
एमन्त प्रकारे पञ्चजनकु । कटाक्ष कला ये आम्भमानङ्क ।
प्रकाश परम स्थान पाइलु । निरालम्ब ध्याने निमग्न हेलु ॥"

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whom proceed the element of water, the organ of taste and all savours; and from Kṛtyanuṣṭha-jñāna, Amoghasiddha, from whom proceed the element of earth, the organ of touch, and all the sensible properties of outward things dependent thereon. All these five Buddhas are Pravṛtti-karmāṇas, or the authors of creation. And these five Buddhas each produced a Bodhisattva. The five Bodhisattvas are *Sristi-karmânas* or the immediate agents of creation; and each, in his turn having become *Sarvaguna*, produced all things by his feat. . . .

" Çūnyatā, or the total abstraction of phænomenal properties, is the result of the total suspension of nature's activity. It is the *Ubi*, and the modus, of the universal material principal in its proper and enduring state of *nivritti* or of rest. It is not nothingness, except with the sceptical few. The opposite of Çūnyatā is Avidyā which is the mundane affection of the universal principle, or the universal principle in a state of activity; in other words, it represents phænomenal entities or the sum of phænomena, which are regarded as wholly unreal, and hence their existence is ascribed to ignorance or Avidyā."*

This interpretation holds good equally in the cases of the crypto-Buddhists of Utkal, outwardly professing the Vaiṣṇava creed, and of the Buddhist Newars. The theory of the void is identical with that of an all-pervading Brahman as will be seen from the above quotation. Needless to say that this theory belongs to the Mahāyāna school.

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* Hodgson's Nepal, p. 74, 75, 105.

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Five Visnus or Five Dhyani Buddhas.

In his work on Viṣṇu-garbha Chaitanya Dāsa was the first to raise the question—"People in general know only of one Viṣṇu. How then are we to account for the belief in five more?" And then he attempts at a solution of the question, as will be found from the following long extract* :—

"He is an invisible, imperceptible being, devoid of all forms and colours. He has no dwelling place and is in reality the Mahā-Çūnya. 199. Destitute of all forms and colours, his body is all formless, and mixed up with Çūnya he is as good as Çūnya. 200. It was beyond the power of any one to describe his form and colour when he assumed these. Even the Veda-Brahma failed to sing his glories. 201. He was formless and colourless, and even amongst the millions of gods there was none comparable with him. One might search throughout the fourteen universes yet one would not be able to find his equal. 202. Nowhere is his equal to be found—so great is the greatness and glory of Alekha. 203. One and the same with Çūnya, he is himself all Çūnya and Çūnya is his form. And identified with Çūnya he is pervading all space. 204.

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* "अगोचर पुरुष से नाहि रूपवर्ण ।
स्थिति नाहि तार अटे महाशून्य ॥ १९९
रूपवर्ण न होइ से अरूप तार देहि ।
शून्यर सहिते से शून्य होइ थाइ ॥ २००
देह वर्ण रूपण की कहिब रूपवर्ण ।
याहार महिमा बखाणि न पारन्ति वेदब्रह्म ॥ २०१
अरूप अवर्ण से अटन्ति देवाकु न छिआ उपमा ।
चौद्द ब्रह्माण्ड खोजिले नाहि प्रतिशोभा ॥ २०१
मति तुल्य अटन्ति से न पाइबे कांहि ।
एमन्त महिमा से अलेखर देहि ॥ २०३
शून्य सहिते से शून्य शून्य शून्यरूपी ।
शून्य सहिते मिशि अछि सकलस्थानव्यापी ॥ २०४

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Çūnya itself is his dwelling place.' 205. Having heard this from the lips of Çaunaka and others Sanaka had not yet his doubts settled and asked again, 206. "You have spoken, O great and mighty *muni* (sage), of the omniscient origin of all. But the character you have described before me, seems to me to be enveloped in mystery. 207. You say that Alekha is devoid of all forms and colours, that he has no beginning and no end, and that he is in reality Mahāçūnya. 208. How then were the six Viṣṇus born? Be pleased, Ye high-minded sage, to explain this to me. 209. Branches, flowers and fruits are possible only when the tree has its roots; and it rains only after the clouds have been formed. 210. How then can the tree grow without the seed? This is utterly beyond my comprehension. 211. Even after seeds have been sown, trees do not grow without the help of water; and without friction, no fire can

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शून्य हिंटि ताहार अटइ निज घर ।
शून्यरे थाइबे शून्ये करइ विहार ॥ २०५
शौनकादिङ्कर मुखे शुणिले ए सनक ।
पुणि संशय चित्ते पुछा करिले सनक ॥ २०६
बोइले महामुनि तुम्भे सर्व्वज्ञ आदिमूल ।
कैमन चरित्र आम्भर आगे बखानिल ॥ २०७
बोइल अलेखर नाहि रूपवर्ण ।
आद्य अन्त नाहिं तार अटे महाशून्य ॥ २०८
षड़ विष्णु कांहिरु होइले उतपति ।
एहा मोते बुझाइ कहिब महामति ॥ २०९
वृक्षरे मूल थिलेसिना डालरे फलि फल ।
मेघ आरम्भिलेसिना वरषइ जल ॥ २१०
बीज विना वृक्ष से केमन्त हेब जात ।
अनुभव बुद्धिरे नो हुअइ आदि अन्त ॥ २११

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be kindled. 212. Hence your assertion that Alekha has no form has raised doubts in my mind. Be pleased somehow to disperse these. 213. (Though Alekha has no form yet) you say that from his body sprang into existence the six Viṣṇus. Of the glories of one I have just now heard. 214. If I can now hear of the respective duties and functions of the remaining five, the doubts of my mind may be set at rest." 215. Upon these words of Sanaka, the sages headed by Çaunaka replied, "The inexplicable glories and greatnesses of Alekha cannot (even) be (partially) understood with the help of others. 216. Hear us, O Sanaka, the question that you have raised touches the origin and the end of the māyā of Alekha—which no one can ever know. 217. No one can fully explain his origin and end. No speaker, no words, can express his plays of pleasure. 218. At his own sweet will and pleasure he makes his greatness manifest, and

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बोल शुणि जळ बिना अङ्कुर न होइ ।
बिना आरपणे कांहि अनळ उपजइ ॥ २११
ए मोहर संशय कथा फेड़ि मोते कह ।
तुम्भे ये बोइल अलेखर नाहिं देह ॥ २१२
देहरु जन्म छड़ विष्णु जनमिले ।
एक विष्णुर महिमा शुणिलुं कर्णमूले ॥ २१४
आहुरि पञ्च विष्णु कलि कि कि कर्म ।
तुम्भ श्रीमुखर शुणि छाड़ मन भ्रम ॥ २१५
सनकबचने ये कहन्ति शौनकादि ।
अलेखर महिमा ए अगम्य प्रतिनिधि ॥ २१६
बोइलेक सनक तुम्भे पचारिल याहा ।
आद्य अन्त कहि नुहे अलेखर माया ॥ २१७
विस्तार करि कहिवाकु नु हे आदि अन्त ।
इच्छा सुखे विलस ये नाहिं ता वाक्य व्यकत ॥ २१८

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though formless, reveals himself. 219. If he likes he can assume many forms; and, if it pleases his mind, can create many forms. 220. He plays at pleasure, lives at pleasure and assumes many forms at pleasure. 221. His first and own (real) form is Nirākāra. And from his body the form of Dharma is developed. 222. Then he becomes imagination personified and begins to create; and then again he diverts himself by assuming the form of the good of the world. 223. Hear, Sanaka, of the glories of Alekha. We shall describe to you the attributes and qualities that qualify him. 224. His body, itself devoid of all colours, developed the six colours of white, yellow, red, orange, waterfalls and cloud. And out of these six colours were the six Viṣṇus born. 225,-226. One of these Viṣṇus was located by Alekha in the eastern Çūnya, one in the western, one in the southern

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इच्छा सुखे ताहार महिमा विकाशइ ।
अरूप होइ करिले स्वरूप प्रकाशइ ॥ २१९
इच्छा होइले से अनेक रूप धरि ।
इच्छा हेले मन तार अनेक रूप करि ॥ २२०
इच्छा सुखे खेलइ से इच्छा सुखे रहे ।
इच्छा हेले अनेक से रूपमान होये ॥ २२१
प्रथमे निराकार स्वरूपक होइ ।
धर्म्म स्वरूप होइ तार अङ्गु प्रकाशइ ॥ २२२
कल्पना पुरुष होइ पुणि सृष्टि करे जात ।
शिव स्वरूप होइ पुण खेलइ जगत ॥ २२३
शुणह सनक तुम्भे अलेख महिमा ।
तुम्भ आगे एके कहिबाकु गुणसीमा ॥ २२४
अवर्ण अङ्ग तार वर्ण प्रकाशिला ।
श्वेत पीत लोहित कुङ्कुम आरिकला ॥ २२५
जलधर निर्झरक एमन्ते षड़ वर्ण ।
ए षड़ वर्णर षड़ विष्णु हेला जन्म ॥ २२६

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and one in the northern. 227-228. These four Çūnyas are called four Nirākāras; and these Viṣṇus are located in reality just as described here.

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Having reached the upper Çūnya he became unconscious in the sleep of Yoga and there did spring from him the Brahmās. 229-230. Having been thus born these gods created the universe consisting of the twenty-one regions of Alekha and the nine parts of the world. 231.

"Each of these universes was an independent entity and for each of these one Brahmā with his colleagues was created. 233. Having been born, each set of these gods again created a universe, consisting of the twenty-one regions of Alekha and the nine parts of the world. 234. And thus the Brahmās with their subordinates created three Brahmāṇḍas.

पूर्ब्ब शून्ये एक विष्णु थापिले ।
पश्चिम शून्यरे एक विष्णुकु रखिले ॥ २२०
दक्षिण शून्ये लेइ रखिले विष्णु एक ।
उत्तर शून्ये एक विष्णु रखिले अलेख ॥ २२८
चारि शून्य चारि बोलाइ निराकार ।
तत्त्व याहा अनुसरे करन्त बिहार ॥ २२९
उपर शून्ये पहुञ्चि ये योगनिद्रा गले ।
ताहाङ्कर तहुँ ब्रह्मामाने जात हेले ॥ २३०
जात होइ ब्रह्ममाने रचिले ब्रह्माण्ड ।
एकइश पुर अलेख पृथ्वी नवखण्ड ॥ २३१
देवगण नर जे आछन्ति लेखा ।
ब्रह्माण्डपालन आदि येमन्त थिबे थाखा ॥ २३२
एक ब्रह्माण्डमानङ्कर प्रति प्रति तुले ।
ताहाङ्कर तहुँ ब्रह्मामाने जात हेले ॥ २३३
जात होइ ब्रह्मामाने रचिले ब्रह्माण्ड ।
एकइश पुर अलेख पृथ्वी नवखण्ड ॥ २३४

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"These are known to none but Alekha. 236. The Alekha puruṣa is present everywhere, yet none knows where and what he is, and where and what he is not. 237. Once upon a time one of the Brahmās boasted, "It was I who created the whole universe." 238. . . . . . . Another thought within himself, "It was I who created the world with all the movable and immovable things in it." 242. Again another boasted "It was I and none else that was the creator." And thus the four Brahmās created the four Viṣṇus who are placed in the four worlds of Deva, man and serpent. 245. Upon this Sanaka looked upon the faces of Çaunaka and his companions and said "O my lord, what an impossible thing it is that you have just said to me. 245. I have heard of the glories of four Çūnyas from your lips. And at the time of creation, you say, four

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एक ब्रह्माण्ड मानङ्कर एक एक तुण्ड ।
से तिन ब्रह्माण्ड ब्रह्मामाने सृष्टि कलि ॥ २३५
काहार गोचरे एमान मनभेद नाहिं ।
सबहुरि गोचर एक अलेख जानइ ॥ २३६
अलेख पुरुष ये सबु ठारे ठान्ति ।
ताहार भेदाभेद ये केहि न जानन्ति ॥ २३७
एक ब्रह्मा बोइला मु सृष्टि करि जात ।
मोहर रचनासिना अटइ जगत ॥ २३८
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एकब्रह्मा चिन्तिले मने गुणि ।
चराचर करि मु ये रचिलि धरणी ॥ २४२
पुणि एक ब्रह्मा विचारइ मने ।
मु सृष्टि कर्त्ता मो तुल्य अन्य नाहिं जने ॥ २४३
एहि रूपे चारि ब्रह्मा चारि विष्णु कले ।
देव नर नाग चारिखानि भियाइले ॥ २४४
सनक बोइले शौनकादि मुख चाहिं ।
असम्भव कथा मोते कहिला गोसाँइ ॥ २४५

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Brahmās were born in the four Çūnyas. 246. But the world knows of only one Brahmā and one Viṣṇu; and this has again been confirmed by the four Vedas. 247. How then do you say that there are four Brahmās who are the four Nirākāras and who from the four directions of the Çūnya created the universe? 248. This sounds impossible—so much so that even though I have heard the story with my own ears, yet in my mind I am not yet convinced. 249. I do therefore request you to be so good again as to explain this clearly to me.' Hearing him, Çaunaka and his companions said 250. "Hear Sanaka of the illusive tricks of Alekha—of the innumerable colours and forms that he has assumed. 251. The glories of that Alekha are always manifest—know that they have no beginning, no middle, no end. 252. We shall try to tell you as clearly as we can of the origin and the end of him from whom have the countless Brahmāṇḍas sprung.

चारिशून्यर महिमा शुणिले तुम्भ मुखे ।
चारिशून्ये चारिब्रह्मा जन्मिले सृष्टिकल्पे ॥ २४६
एक ब्रह्मा एक विष्णु जानन्ति जगते ।
पुणि लेखा हुइला ए चारि वेदपथे ॥ २४७
तुम्भे कि पाय बोइला चारि ब्रह्मा चारि निराकार ।
चारिदिग शून्यरे से रचिले संसार ॥ २४८
एकथा असम्भव लागिला कौशले ।
कर्णरे शुणि मने न जाइ परते ॥ २४९
एथिर चरित्र मोते फेड़ि कह सन्धि ।
सनक वचन शुणि बलन्ति शौनकादि ॥ २५०
शुणत सनकहे अलेखर माया ।
काहिँ केते रूप धरिअछि काया ॥ २५१
ए अलेखर सकळ महिमा सम्भान ।
आद्य मध्य अन्त तार नाहिँ बोलि जाण ॥ २५२

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But none can know fully the majesty and greatness of him who is infinite and indefinable and who is above all similarities and differences. 253-254. The greatness of Alekha as described by the Vedas may be compared to the fish in the ocean. And just as when a stone is thrown down, the ocean only knows how it goes but the fish knows nothing of it, so Brahmā and the other gods know but little of the glory and greatness of Alekha. Brahmā speaks only of what he himself has created. 255-257. Again, Viṣṇu cannot say whence he sprang; and the Vedas do speak only of one Brahmā and one Viṣṇu. 258. . . 259; while they speak only an iota of the greatness of Alekha, because they cannot ascertain and measure his glory. 260. * * * * There are

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अनन्त कोटि ब्रह्माण्ड याहार गर्भजात ।
के स्तुति करि कहिब ताहारि आदि अन्त ॥ २५३
अशेष शेष नाहि याहार भेदाभेद ।
ताहार महिमाकु नाहि काहार भेदाभेद ॥ २५४
वेदर महिमा से जलरे जेहें मीन ।
जेते दूर थाए जल पखुर मान तेम ॥ २५५
तेते दूर बारता जाणइ जलचर ।
आउ ताहाङ्कु तेमिति दिशइ अन्धकार ॥ २५६
सेहि रूपे ब्रह्मामाने पुकथा जानन्ति ।
ब्रह्मा याहा सृजि थाहि से बारता वर्णन्ति ॥ २५७
पुण विष्णु न वर्णि काहिरु जन्म होइ ।
एक ब्रह्मा एक विष्णुर महिमा वेद कहि ॥ २५८
आवर कहे वेद अवतार विष्णुनाम कर गुण ।
सृष्टिर शुभाशुभ जेतेक पाठिण ॥ २५९
अलेखर महिमा पुण किछि किछि कहन्ति ।
निर्णय करि महिमा बखाणि न पारन्ति ॥ २६०

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many scriptures and many other works on the subject but in none of these is to be found any definition of Alekha. 265. But in the Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa there is an exhaustive account of his glories and greatnesses, though these have no beginning and no end and are really indefinable. 266. The four Çūnya Nirākāras, developed into forms and from these produced Brahmās. 267. * * Again Sanaka turned his eyes towards Çaunaka and the rest and said "Would you again be pleased to tell me the doings of Viṣṇu? If I hear it from your lips, my doubts will disappear. 271-272. Be pleased to tell me clearly the natures of the various attributes and qualities that were manifested by him when he laid himself down on water." 273. Çaunaka and others replied, "Hear, O Sanaka, we shall give an account of the greatnesses and glories of the Viṣṇus. 274. The sea of milk is in the east. in the west is

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अनेक शास्त्र ये अनेक ग्रन्थमान ।
ए ये नाहि अलेखर निर्णय वचन ॥ २६५
विष्णुगर्भपुराणे अछि अलेखमहिमा ।
अन्त करि न हि तार आदि अन्त सीमा ॥ २६६
आकार शून्य चारि निराकार हेला ।
ताहारु अङ्ग पुन ब्रह्मामान जात केला ॥ २६७

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सनक कहन्ति शौनक मुख चाहि ॥ २७१
आथार वेनि विष्णुचरित मोते कह ।
तव मुख शुणिले फिटिब सन्देह ॥ २७२
कि कि मान सम्पद हे केल जलशायी ।
ताहार चरित्र मान कहिब बुझाइ ॥ २७३
शौनकादि बोइले शुण हे सनक ।
हे विष्णुमानङ्कर महिमा परिवाद ॥ २७४

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the sea of water; and in the south-sea there are other varieties of water 275. Dwelling on the shores of each of the seas, they received, each of them, seven names. 276. They were then divided and separated from one another each as a whole in itself. Again did they however receive the appelation of Sapta Sindhu (seven seas). 277. Then having laid themselves down on the seas, the four Nirākāras became unconscious in the sleep of Yoga. 278. Meditating upon the Ātman, they became absorbed in the dhyāna of Alekha, whose form was before their vision. 279. To perform different functions innumerable Viṣṇus were born from the hairs on their bodies. 280. In the upper Çūnya was Viṣṇu placed and given the name of Vaikuṇṭhanātha. 281. One Nirākāra was taken to and located in the Chandra Çūnya; his glories are utterly unknowable. 282. He

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पूर्व्वमुखे क्षीर सिन्धु पश्चिमे जलद ।
दक्षिण समुद्रते प्रति अम्बुभेद ॥ २७५
एक एक सिन्धुकूले कले परिणाम ।
तेहु करि हेले साताङ्क त सात नाम ॥ २७६
एक एक पूर्ण करि रखिले भाग करि ।
पुन नाम रखिले सपत सिन्धु बोलि ॥ २७७
समुद्रमान करि आसनमान कले ।
चारि निराकार तहि योग निद्रा गले ॥ २७८
आत्माध्यान करि सेहि अलेख ध्याने रहि ।
नयन अग्रे रूप प्रकाश कराइ ॥ २७९
ताहाङ्कर रोमरु अनेक विष्णुजात ।
कार्य्य अनुरूपे से होयन्ति आत्मजात ॥ २८०
उपर शून्ये एक विष्णु थापिला ।
वैकुण्ठनाथ बोलि तार नाम देला ॥ २८१
चन्द्र शून्ये नेइ थुइला एक निराकार ।
ताहार महिमा मान अति अगोचर ॥ २८२

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dwells permanently in the sea of nectar and of him all the Viṣṇus are but emanations. 283.

But, we hope, a little close observation will convince any one that the five extra Viṣṇus referred to here are but indentical with the five Dhyāni-Buddhas spoken of in the Buddhistic Scriptures of Nepal. In this manuscript we are told that in the beginning there was only the Great Void (Mahāçūnya) the five elements being non-existent; there existed only the formless, attributeless, self-existent Viṣṇu as the primordial cause. He brought into existence the universe, and in course of time a desire to do good to this universe possessed his heart. Though really formless, he did now assume a form and was denominated Dharma. At the instant of his conceiving the desire of creation, five forms *i.e.* beings were produced who were also called Viṣṇus. They were white, blue, yellow, red and green. Thus including Mahāviṣṇu (the primordial cause) there were now six Viṣṇus in all. The subordinate five were placed in charge of the different celestial regions—thus, one in the east, one in the west, one in the north and one in the south, and the remaining one in the upper celestial region, where he became deeply absorbed in Dhyāna. And from his body each of the Viṣṇus, again, produced, in his turn, a Brahmā, and to each of these Brahmās was delegated the power and function of creating the universe. After the subordinate five Viṣṇus had created the Brahmās, they lost themselves in the meditation of the Mahāçūnya. The Viṣṇu who was placed in charge of the

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অমৃত সাগরে তাহার নিত্য বাস ।
তাহাঙ্ক অংশ বিষ্ণুমানে হোয়ন্তি প্রকাশ ||" ২৮৩

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upper celestial region was known as the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha.

The description of creation as given above by Chaitanya Dāsa is essentially different from what is found in the Brāhmanic scriptures. The cosmogony discussed in the above text is exactly what has been propounded by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in their religious works. Let us now try to discuss and explain the subject more fully.

In reply to the question 'How and when was the world created?' the Mahāyānists affirm that in the beginning there was nothing but Svayambhū who is self-existent. Him they call Ādi Buddha. In the beginning he created, "for the duration of the present systems of worlds," the Pañcha Dhyāni-Buddhas. This theory of creation is exactly what is to be found in Chaitanya Dāsa's work, 'Viṣṇugarbha.' The worship of Ādi Buddha and of the five Dhyāni Buddhas is still prevalent in Nepal. The following extract from Dr. Oldfield's Sketches from Nipal will throw more light on the subject:—

"The Theistic system of Buddhism teaches that one universal, all powerful, and immaterial spirit has existed from before the commencement of time, and that it will pervade the universe throughout all eternity. This Spirit is God. He is possessed of supreme power, and is endowed with supreme intelligence, and is, therefore, called Ādi Buddha.

* * * * * * *

"The majority of the Theistic Schools believe that while Ādi Buddha represents supreme intelligence, or mind, there is associated with, and forming part of Him, yet at the same time

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totally distinct form Him, another Being, divine and eternal, who represents *Matter*, and who is the sum of all the active powers of the material universe. This Being or Spirit they call Ādi Dharma or Ādi Prajñā.

"These two divine Principles or Spirits, by their union and joint operation form the One Supreme Being, who not only originated the universe, and has since preserved it, but who, by an act of His Will, called into being the celestial deities or Buddhas, as well as the lesser Hindu deities, all of whom are looked upon as emanations, more or less directly derived, from this Supreme Intelligence or Ādi Buddha. He is called sometimes Svayambhū or the Self-Existent."*

"Ādi Buddha is believed ever to be, and ever to have been, in a state of perfect repose. The only active part which he is represented ever to have taken with reference to the universe was the bringing into being, by five separate acts of creation, the five Divine Buddhas, as emanation from Himself. These Buddhas are called "Divine," because they spring direct from Ādi Buddha, and they were brought by him into existence merely as instruments through whose agency he might effect the creation of the universe.

"The five Divine Buddhas are ranked in the order in which they were created, 1st, Vairochana; 2nd, Akṣobhya; 3rd, Ratnasambhava; 4th, Amitābha; 5th, Amoghasiddha. They are looked upon as brothers, and in that sense as all holding exactly the same rank; but Vairo-

* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II, pp. 89-90.

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chana, as eldest brother, theoretically holds the highest position among them; while Amitābha, the fourth brother,—as father to the Bodhisattva Padmapāni, who is lord of the existing universe,—theoretically receives the greatest amount of worship.

"Each of these Buddhas was empowered by Ādi Buddha to produce a subordinate being or Bodhisattva who stood in relation to the Divine Buddha of son to father, and to whom each Buddha delegated all his divine attributes and powers, and having done so, relapsed, or was reabsorbed into the Great First Cause from which he had originally emanated. They have ever since remained in an eternally quiescent state, and are not believed to take the slightest concern in any mundane affairs."*

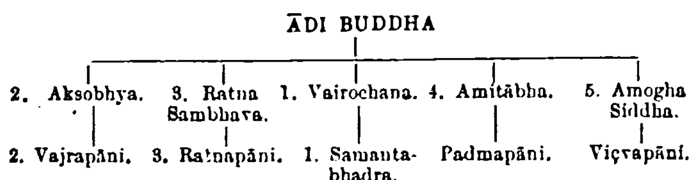
"The Divine Bodhisattvas having been brought into being, by the association of the (Divine) Buddhas with their Çaktis, expressly for the creation and government of the universe, they are looked upon as types of the active and creative powers of Nature."†

Reading together and comparing the account given in Viṣṇugarbha and the Newar Buddhistic version of creation, we find that the infinite, formless and omniscient Viṣṇu of Chaitanya Dāsa was no other than the Svayambhū or the Ādi Buddha of the Mahāyānist, and the subordinate Viṣṇus or celestial beings, created by Parama Viṣṇu, are but the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Further, the Brahmās produced from their bodies by these lower Viṣṇus, were in reality and essence but the divine Bodhisattvas. We give below what

* Oldfield, Vol. II. pp. 111-112.
† Do. do. p. 115.

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may be called a geneological table of the Dhyānī Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas as found in the Buddhistic scriptures of Nepal.



From the above list it will be clear and evident to all that the subject-matter of Chaitanya Dāsa's work was borrowed from the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The Divine Bodhisattvas were believed by the Mahāyāna School to have been the active authors of creation. "One by one, in succession, they were appointed as creators and governors of the then existing systems of world;"* three of them have since passed away and the present world is the work of the fourth Bodhisattva, Padmapāni.

The Hindus regard Buddha as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu—an opinion which is also endorsed by the Buddhists of India. In the 10th century A.D. Kṣemendra, a renowned Kashmirian poet and author of the celebrated work 'Avadānakalpalatā' discussed at length the Mahāyāna Buddhism of the day and went so far as to declare Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. No wonder therefore that the Vaiṣṇavas of Utkala, who are Buddhists in heart though not so in profession, regard Buddha as Viṣṇu himself and the Bodhisattvas as Brahmās. In the extract from Viṣṇugarbha quoted above we find

* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II. p. 115.

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that the author ascribed to the five subordinate Viṣṇus the following five colours—white, yellow, red, blue and green.

We learn from the literature of the Nepal Buddhists that each of the Dhyāni Buddhas also had a separate colour assigned to him. We give below a list of the five Dhyāni Buddhas with their respective colours:—

1.	Vairochana ...	White
2.	Akṣobhya ...	Blue
3.	Ratnasambhava ...	Yellow
4.	Amitābha ...	Red
5.	Amoghasiddha ...	Green

And like the author of Viṣṇugarbha who locates these Viṣṇus in different regions of the universe, Buddhist writers also assign to the Dhyāni Buddhas different Bhavanas or particular mansions of the universe.

Svayambhū Purāṇa, named after Svayambhū or Ādi Buddha is an important Buddhistic Scripture of Nepal. We find in it a passage which runs thus—Vairochana was placed in the upper celestial region of the universe, Akṣobhya in the east, Ratna Sambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west and Amoghasiddha in the north.[1] In several of the Chaityas of Nepal also the Dhyāni-Buddhas are assigned the same positions as described here.

[1] "ऊर्द्ध्वे * वैरोचनञ्चापि पूर्व्वे चाक्षोभ्यमित्यपि ।
दक्षिणे रत्नसम्भवं अमिताभं पश्चिमेऽपि ॥
उत्तरेऽमोघसिद्धिञ्च इतिपञ्चतथागतम् ।"

(A. Society's Edition. pp. 370—371.)

* "मध्ये" इति पाठान्तरम् ।

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Dharma.

Dharma performs an important part of Buddhism, being the second of the Buddhist Trinity. The religious workers, Rāmāi Paṇḍita, Lāusena, and others, who flourished during the reign of Dharmapāla II in the 11th Century A.D., found that this Dharma had lost much in the estimation of the public, and devoted their lives to re-establishing his glory and lost supremacy; and with this object in view they composed the Çūnya Purāṇa and the several Dharma-maṅgalas. In the course of our survey in Mayūrabhañja, we came across several Oriya Manuscripts dealing with the subject of Dharma. From these Manuscripts we can form some idea of the influence which this cult once exercised upon the minds of the people.

The following account of the origin of Dharma and of the creation of the universe by him is given in the Dharma-Gītā of Mahādevadāsa :—

"Whose graceful and majestic person is Çūnya and who is without any appetite or desire; who has no form and who is absolutely indescribable and indefinable. 20.

* * *

"In that receptacle of world is the seat of that Lord; and it is this which is the pure and absolute paradise sought by all. And that world is the void of voids—the great void, created out

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"शून्य शोभन याहार शून्य भोग्य बाञ्छा।
न शोभे वचन रूप रेख नाहि किछि ॥ २०
से आधार भुवने से प्रभुर आसन।
से स्थान अतुल पर वैकुण्ठभुवन ॥ २१

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of millions of worlds. 26-27. There is here no sun, no moon, none of the eight tutelary deities of the directions and neither birth nor death, neither warmth nor cold. And in this state did crores of ages elapse. Hear me, I shall tell you how Dharma was born thereafter. 28-29. After Mahāprabhu had destroyed the sins, the glorious face of Dharma emanated from him. 30. After innumerable *Kalpas* had thus elapsed, did the Lord yawn heavily, and out of that yawn through that glorious mouth was Pavana (wind or space) born. Bowing down his head (at the feet of the Lord) Pavana said 'Wherefore have you brought me into existence? Where shall I go?' The Lord replied 'Pavana, blow away quickly and come back after you have created the universe.' And in obedience to the directions of his father, Pavana went away saying 'I shall come back after I have created the world, as asked by you.' On his way, however, he reflected thus, 'If I were to create the world, I should not be able to return after I have seen the pleasures of it.' So he shrank back from the task of creation, and by practising

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शून्य शून्य महाशून्य ए भुवनस्थान ।
अछ केते महाशून्य होइछि निर्माण । २७
नाहि सूर्य्य नाहि चन्द्र अष्ट दिक्पाळ ।
नाहि जन्म मृत्यु नाहि तपत शीतळ ॥ २८
ए भावने केते कोटी युग बहि गला ।
एथु परे धर्म्मजात शुणन्ते होइला ॥ २९
महाप्रभु गुप्ति गुप्ति पाप कले ध्वंस ।
धर्म्मङ्क श्रीमुख प्रभु कलेक प्रकाश ॥ ३०

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yoga and dhyāna, begot his son Yuga. 31-36. And he asked Yuga, 'You are to go immediately, and to come back only after you have created the world.' Upon receiving the orders of his father, Yuga flew away quickly, saying 'I shall return only after I have done your bidding.' But on his way he did thus déliberate, 'If I were to undertake the work of creation, I should not be able to come out after I have seen the pleasures of the world.' So he, too, was greatly afraid to undertake the creation and produced out of his body a son named Nirañjana and said to him 'Go immediately and come back only after you have created the world.' 37-41.

केते कल्पे काले प्रभु हाइर माइले ।
से हार श्रीमुखरु पवन जात हेले ॥ ३१
छमा होइ पवन जे बोइल गोंसाइं ।
काहिं थिबि जात मोते कह काहिं पाइं ॥ ३२
प्रभु बोइले पवन धातिकारे थिबु ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ३३
पिता आज्ञा पाइ से पवन चलि गला ।
आसिबि संसार सृजि बोलि कहि गला ॥ ३४
मने बिचारिला यदि संसार सृजिबि ।
देखिण संसारसुख आसि न पारिबि ॥ ३५
ए संसार सृजिबाकु पवन डरिला ।
योगध्यान करि युग पुत्र जात कला ॥ ३६
युगकु बोइला एहि क्षण थिबु ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ३७
पिता आज्ञा युग वेगे चलि गला ।
आसिबि संसार सृजि बोलि कहि गला ॥ ३८
बाटे बिचारिला मने संसार सृजिबि ।
देखिण संसार सुख आसि न पारिबि ॥ ३९
युग पृथी सृजिबाकु महाभय कला ।
निरञ्जन बोलि पुत्र देहु जात कला ॥ ४०
बोइला तु निरञ्जन एहि क्षणि थिबु ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ४१

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Having been thus directed by his father Nirañjana did (in reality) go away but was highly afraid to create the world. 42. He could not thus create this world, but begot out of his own person a son named Nirguṇa ; 43. and asked him to go away instantly and to return after finishing the task of the creation. 44. Nirguṇa, too, failed to create the world but produced from his body his son Guṇa 45 ; and said 'You are immediately to go away my child, and return only after you have created the universe.' 46. With these instructions from his father, Guṇa went away quickly but was highly afraid to undertake the task of creation. 47. He thought within himself 'Were I to create the world, I should not be able to come out of it after I have seen its pleasures.' 48. So Guṇa, too, failed to create the world and (in his turn) brought out of his person a son named Thula (Sthūla) ; 49. and told him to

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पिता आज्ञा निरञ्जन चलि गला ।
ए संसार सृजिवाकु महाभय कला ॥ ४२
निरञ्जन ए संसार सृजि न पारिला ।
निर्गुण बोलिण पुत्र देहु जात कला ॥ ४३
बोइला तु निर्गुण एहि क्षणि यिबु ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ४४
निर्गुण हि ए संसार सृजि न पारिला ।
गुण बोलि करि पुत्र देहु जात कला ॥ ४५
गुणकु बोइला बापु एवे क्षण यिबु ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ४६
पिता आज्ञा पाइ गुण वेगे चलि गेला ।
ए संसार सृजिवाकु महाभय कला ॥ ४७
मने विचारिला यदि संसार सृजिबि ।
देखिण संसार सुख आसि न पारिबि ॥ ४८
गुण हि संसार सृजि न पारिला ।
ठुल बोलि करि पुत्र देहु जात कला ॥ ४९

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go immediately and come back after he had created the universe. 50. Thula flew away speedily, having been thus directed by his father, but was greatly afraid to undertake the task. 51. He shrank back from creating the universe in great fear and sat down on his way heaving deep sighs. 52. He was absorved in deep meditation and abstraction, and begot of his own person a son named Dharma; 53. and said to him 'Go quickly, my child, and come back after having (created and) experienced the pleasures of the world.' 54. 'But you must be very quick in going from and coming back to this place, or else you will be overtaken by *Moha* on your way and will never be able to come back at all.' 55. Unable to disobey the words of his father, Dharma went away saying that he would return as soon as he had done with the creation. 56. But even he was afraid to create the world though he had left his father with the above words and sat down to think out (some way

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तुळकु बोइले बापु एहि क्षणे यिबु ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ५०
पिता आज्ञा पाइ तुळ वेगे चलि गला ।
ए संसार सृजिबाकु महाभय कला ॥ ५१
तुळ हि डरिला पृथी सृजिबार पाइँ ।
बाटरे बसिला करि निश्वास पकाइ ॥ ५२
महायोगध्यान करि तुळ हि बसिला ।
धर्म्म बोलि एक पुत्र देहु जात कला ॥ ५३
धर्म्मकु बोइला बापु वेगे होइ यिबु ।
संसारभोग अल्पिंण बाहुडि आसिबु ॥ ५४
आसिबु वेग होइ एठि ठाकु यिबा ।
मोह होइ पड़ि पथे आसि न पारिबा ॥ ५५
पितार वचन धर्म्म भाङ्गि न पारिला ।
आसिबि संसार सृजि बोलि कहि गला ॥ ५६

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whereby he could extricate himself). 57. He said to himself 'Father's words are inviolable. Were I to fall back from the task of the creation, I should meet with certain destruction. 58. But what an insoluble riddle it is! Even the Rṣis, when overtaken by *Moha*, come to destruction. How then am I to create *moha* and yet live safe and secure?' 59. Having thus reflected within himself, Dharma sat down in extreme anxiety and trouble of mind, and his body began to perspires. 60. He then wiped his forehead with his hand and shook off the drops of perspiration upon the ground; and from there a woman sprang up. 61. She was a young lady in full bloom with sweet and gentle smiles (upon her lips) . . . . 62. Having seen her, Dharma was amorously inclined, and he held in hand the seed that flowed out 66. Then Dharma let the seed drop there, which fell in three

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धर्म्म चिन्ते से संसार सृजिवाकु करिबा ।
पिता कुहि आउ धर्म्म भाङ्गि न वसिबा ॥ ५७
जौहले धर्म्म पिता आज्ञा भाङ्गि न पारिब ।
संसार न सृजिले निश्चय नाश गलि ॥ ५८
मोह होइ पड़ि ऋषिमाने मोह जान्ति ।
मुइ सृजि मोह जिबि कारि केमन्त सान्ति ॥ ५९
टेक गम गम घम विपक्ष हइला ।
विचारि मनरे धर्म्म भाङ्गि न वसिला ॥ ६०
कपाल आउ पाणि हस्ते फिङ्गि देले ।
से पाणि भूमिरे पड़ि स्त्री जनमिले ॥ ६१
नव युवा होइले भूमिरे पड़ि जाइ ।
हसिले चलप होइ से धीरे पनाइ ॥ ६२
धर्म्म देखताथि देखि न धइमात होइला ।
वहिवाक वीर्य पड़ हस्तरे धरिला ॥ ६६

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different parts. 71. And out of the seed Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Içvara were born. Dharma was highly pleased to see these three sons. 72. Then he said to Brahmā 'You are to go and create the world;' to Viṣṇu 'You are to destroy the demons'; 73. and to Īçvara 'Because you occupy a junior place to Brahmā and Viṣṇu, you are to go and practise abstraction and meditation.' 74. 'I am now going away to where my father is; (but) you, three brothers, are to remain here and create the world.' 75. Then the goddess said "Having begotten me from your forehead, you are my father. How then am I to live with the sons, leaving their father?" 76. Dharma replied 'Why will you go with me? With all the pleasures of the world, all the people will come to worship you here. 77. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara, my three sons, will create here the play-house of the world. 78. (Though but one) you yourself will be

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एते बोलि धर्म्म बीज से ठारे ढालिले ।
तिन खण्ड होइ बीज से ठारे पड़िले ॥ ७१
पड़िण से ठारे बीज से ब्रह्मा विष्णु जात ।
तिन पुत्र देखि धर्म्म होइले उषत ॥ ७२
ब्रह्माङ्क बोइले तुम्भे सृष्टि जात कर ।
विष्णुङ्क बोइले तुम्भे असुरङ्क मार ॥ ७३
ईश्वरङ्क बोइले तु योग कर ध्यान ।
ब्रह्मा विष्णु दुइ भाइ ठारु तु जे सान ॥ ७४
आम्भे जउअछुँ जे पिता ठाकु मोर ।
तुम्भे तिन भाइ सृजिव संसार ॥ ७५
देवी बोइलि कपालु जात कलुँ मोते ।
बाप छाड़ि पुत्र सङ्गे रहिबि कि मते ॥ ७६
धर्म्म बोले मागो सङ्गे किपा जिबु ।
पृथ्वी भोग देवी सब सेवा तु देविबु ॥ ७७
ब्रह्मा विष्णु हर तिनि पुत्र मोहर ।
एठारे सृजिबे संसार खेलघर । ७८

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millions in form, as tutelary deities of villages; and every day will you have millions of worship the wide world over.' 79. (Then) he added 'Brahmā will create the world and fill this play-house with great dolls (*i.e.*, beings).' 80 . . . And thus were they begotten of Dharma . . . 91. And thus the mother remained here with her sons and having (thus) created the world Dharma went back to the place of his father.' 92.

From the above account of creation quoted *in extenso* we come clearly to know that both the elements and the attributes sprang into existence from the Supreme Lord of the universe, *viz.*, Mahāçūnya. In the beginning he was destitute of all attributes; then he came to develop attributes and assumed a material form. Thereafter he manifested himself as Dharma and from the sweat of his brow created a beautiful woman representing the primordial energy of the universe. And from this did Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheçvara spring; and to them were made over the charge and the care of the creation.

We meet with a similar description of creation in the Çūnya Purāṇa of Rāmāi Paṇḍita. First of all, he derives, the wind or space, time

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तुम्भे लचे रूप हैव ग्रामदेवरूपे ।
लचे पूजा पाइव दिनर पृथिवी माझे ॥ ७९
बोइले धर्म्म ब्रह्म सृजिबे संसार ।
महा पुतली आनि भरिबे खेल घर ॥ ८०
एमन प्रकारे तहुँ धर्म्म जात हैला ।
धर्म्म रखि खेलि सृजि संसार होइला ॥ ९१
एमन्ते मा पुत्र थेलि ए ठारे रहिले ।
संसार सृजिण धर्म्म पिता ठाकु गले ॥ ९२"

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and the elements from the Mahāçūnya and then from his body, which was Dharma itself, Nirañjana. From the sweat of Nirañjana's brow did the primordial energy spring, from which again did Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheçvara have their beings. The reader will now agree with us in thinking, we may hope, that the influence of the Dharma cult as expounded by Rāmāi Paṇḍita is largely reflected in the Dharmagītā of Mahādeva Dāsa. Just as one hears certain classes of the people sing Dharma-Maṅgala in different places of the Rāḍha country, so one will hear, in some parts of Mayūrabhañja, the tribes known as Pāna, Bāthuris, &c., to sing the Dharmagītā by Mahādeva Dāsa.*

We have found in the long extract made above from this work that the author used the words Nirvāṇa and Mahāçūnya as synonyms for Vaikuṇṭha.† Now, the term Nirvāṇa has been explained by many scholars as the complete annihilation of being; and this is also the interpretation that obtains among the people. But it is not corroborated by Dharmagītā, according to which the term is neither negative nor privative but a positive one, denoting no annihilation of being but the essence of it. And this is just the view that Mr. Suzuki adopts in his Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus he says.--

"The Mahāyāna Buddhism was the first religious teaching in India that contradicted the doctrine of Nirvāṇa as conceived by other Hindu

* For Dharma cult, See Bengal Census Report, (1901), Pt. I. p. 204, and Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal, by M. M. Haraprasād Çāstri.

† "सय' निर्व्वाण ने कल हरिवैसो ।
ते शून्य सापसे अन्तरिखे थाल दिशि ।
से स्थान सवुक पुड वैकुण्ठ भुवन ।"

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thinkers who saw in it a complete annihilation of being; for they thought that existence is evil, and evil is misery, and the only way to escape misery is to destroy the root of existence, which is nothing less than the total cessation of human desires and activities in Nirvāṇic unconsciousness. The Yoga taught self-forgetfulness in deep meditation, the Sāṁkhya, the absolute separation of Paruṣa from Prakriti, which means undisturbed self-contemplation; the Vedānta, absorption in the Brahman, which is the total suppression of all particulars; and thus all of them considered emancipation from human desires and aspirations to be a heavenly bliss, that is Nirvāṇa."*

In his Nirākāra-Saṁhita Achyutānanda Dāsa declares Nirvāṇa to be the last stage of the religious life. He says—

"ब्रह्मानन्द पेहु अदिव्य अव्यक्त दिव्यानन्द तहु जाण ।
ताङ्क गुरुनाम सच्चिदानन्दटि स्वयं अनादि निर्वाण ।"

"Know him who is Brahmānanda (who finds delight in the Brahman) to be the unrevealed Divyānanda. The name of his Guru is Satchitānanda, who is no less than the Anādi (without beginning or end) Nirvāṇa."

In fact, the several prominent Vaiṣṇava poets of Orissa, such as Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Chaitānya Dāsa, Achyuta Dāsa, and Mahādeva Dāsa, in their respective works, use the terms 'Mahāçūnya' 'Çūnyà Brahma,' 'Vaikuṇṭha' and 'Nirvāṇa' as conveying one and the same meaning. Mahādeva Dāsa has also adopted the same theory of creation as has been promulgated

* D.T. Suzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 340.

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by the Mahāyāna Buddhism. He has also followed Rāmāi Paṇḍita by representing Dharma as male, while the Buddhists of Nepal worship Dharma as a female divinity, giving it the name of Prajñā or the primordial energy.

Balarāma Dāsa also, while designating 'Mahāçūnya' as 'Nirañjana,' regarded 'Dharma' as the primordial energy. Thus in his Gaṇeça-Vibhūti-ṭīkā he says—

"महा नित्यस्थान रेटी ए व्रत प्रमाण ।
आदिमाता देवी से देवता महाशून्य ॥
सखि तंहि आदिमाता सखा निरञ्जन ।
तत्त्व करि कहि देवा हेतु करि चिन ।" । (२य अध्याय)

* * *

"That goddess is the Ādimātā and that god is Mahāçūnya. And that Ādimātā and Nirañjana are related to one another as friend. This is the (real) secret, but try to understand them more particularly.'

In the Svayambhū Purāṇa of Nepal Dharma is represented as Prajñā-Pāramitā or Buddha-Mātā *i.e.* the mother of all Buddhas, who has no beginning, no end—

"धर्म्मश्चायास्वरूपेण त्वं लोके च प्रख्यापिता ।
सर्व्वतथागतानाञ्च जननी इति ख्यापिता ।
खगाननेति नाम्ना च त्रयं शून्यस्वरूपिणी ॥
शून्यतां शून्यतां माता बुद्धमाता प्रकीर्त्तिता ।
प्रज्ञापारमितारूपी वौद्धानां जननी तथा ।"*

* *Vide* Brihat Svayambhu Purāṇa (A. Society's Edition). pp. 179-180.

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"Dharma is known throughout the three worlds as Dayā (mercy); and is regarded as the mother of all the Tathāgatas. And having the colour of the sky and the form of the Çūnya, she is named Khagānanā.

"Mother Çūnyatā* is known as Buddha-Mātā and in the form of Prajñā Pāramitā she is also the mother of the Buddhists."

Just as here Çūnyatā or Prajñā Pāramitā is looked upon as the mother of all the Tathāgatas or Buddhas *i.e.* as the Ādimātā, so in various places of the Çūnya-Saṁhitā of Achyutānanda, Dharma, or for the matter of that, the void itself, is treated as the mother of all the gods; and the Paramātman is used synonymously with the Great Void, thus:—

"आद्य देवमाता शून्ये वरदाता एहा कु शून्यटि कहि ।" (१४ अध्याय)।

"परम-आत्माटि महाशून्य बोलि भाव ।" (२२ अध्याय)।

"The primordial mother of the gods, the bestower of boons upon Çūnya, is herself known as the Çūnya." "Think of the Paramātman itself as the Mahā-Çūnya."

It is clear and evident from the Gītās of Mahādeva Dāsa and Balarāma Dāsa that the Buddhist Vaisṇavas of Utkala were divided between two camps of faith. According to one, Dharma, designated as Nirañjaña, was the first cause of the universe and his form was Çūnya or Void. Not unlike the followers of the Dharma-cult of the Rāḍha country who have associated and mixed up the following description of Viṣṇu with the *dhyāna* of Mahā-Çūnya—"शुक्लाम्बरधरं देवं शशिवर्णं चतुर्भुजं । प्रसन्नवदनं ध्यायेत् सर्व्वविघ्नोपशान्तये ॥" "For

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the alleviation of all troubles and distresses one should call upon the four-handed god, clad in a white piece of cloth and having the colour of the moon and a graceful countenance"—they, too, incorporated the description contained in the above line with their mystic syllable "ओं शून्यब्रह्मणे नमः" "Om, salutation to the Çūnya Brahman." The other camp regarded and worshipped Dharma as a female divinity. Just as the image of Dharma is a highly sacred object in Nepal and is worshipped in every Chaitya there, so in the Chaityas of Mayūrabhañja, Dharma, was enshrined and worshipped in the female form. In the beginning of the Eighteenth Century the Tibetan pilgrim, Buddhagupta Tathāgatanātha, witnessed this worship in that place. In the vicinity of Haribhañja Chaitya, visited by this Tibetan pilgrim, we also discovered, in the course of our exploration, a similar stone-figure of Dharma.

Anuttara Yoga

Abundant materials are on record to prove sufficiently that Anuttara Yoga or Haṭha Yoga obtained largely among the crypto Buddhists of Orissa. According to Lāmā Tāranātha, Tāntrism, which was only a popular but degraded form of Yoga, was transmitted from the time of Asaŋga and Dharma-kīrti. While endorsing the above view Dr. Kern writes "After Dharmakīrti's time the Anuttara Yoga became more and more general and influential." The religious works by Balarāma Dāsa and others furnish proofs in favour of this opinion. The Buddhists as well as the Çaivas regard Gorakṣanātha as the founder of the Haṭha-Yoga system. The Vaiṣṇava Buddhistic work, entitled Amara-paṭala opens with a prologue containing a dialogue between Gorakṣanātha and Mallikānātha. The

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works by Achyutānanda and Balarāma, too, pay a sufficient homage to Guru Mīnanātha, Guru Gorakṣanātha,* Mallikānātha, Vīrasiṁha, Lohīdāsa, Bāligā-dāsa and others.

Dr. Kern justly observes—

Bhakti and Brahmavada.

"Mahāyānism lays a great stress on devotion, in this respect as in many others harmonising with the current of feeling in India which led to the growing importance of Bhakti. It is by the feeling of fervent devotion combined with the preaching of active compassion that the creed has enlisted the sympathy of numerous millions of people and has become a factor in the history of mankind, of much greater importance than orthodox Buddhism."†

The Oriya works of Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannatha Dāsa, Chaitānya Dāsa and Achyuta Dāsa are permeated with a spirit of devotion; and there are many songs in these which display a high spiritual emotion. Besides, the Mahāyāna School indicates a conception of the Brahman which is based on the lines of the Vedānta Philosophy. "It would perhaps be more accurate to say that it is a pantheistic doctrine with a theistic tinge; Buddha takes the place of the personified masculine Brahman of the Vedānta."‡

The works of the above-mentioned authors abound with passages substantiating this construction. They show how Buddhism developed

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* Pag-sam-jon-zang (by Sumpo Khampo), a renowned Buddhist Scholar of Tibet) says "About this time (i.e. the 13th Century A.D.) foolish Yogis who were followers of Buddhist Yogi Goraksanatha became Civaite Sannyasis." Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1898, pt. I. p. 25.

† Dr Kern's Buddhism, p. 124.

‡ Do. do. p. 124 *note*.

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the idea of the Brahman, and how this Buddhistic ideal lastly evolved itself out in the creed of the later Vaisṇavas. The following extract from the Çūnya Saṁhitā of Achyuta Dāsa will sufficiently illustrate this—

"परमे परम होइला गोपन अंशे कला अनादि कि ।
अलेखपुरे निरञ्जन पाटना दिव्यरूप तहिं लेखि ॥
कालिन्दी कदम्बमूले देवगण सर्व्वाङ्गरु झाल झरे ।
रमाप्रेमाकुल चम्पकललिता प्रेमलता प्रिय स्वरे ॥
शुभु अच्छि वाणी मधुर से ध्वनि पीयूष रस से रसे ।
महाशून्य यहिं रात्र दिवा नाहि कोटिसूर्य्य परकाशे ॥
देखिण अचेत हजिला सचेत जले जल गला मिशि ।
तेजरे तेज मिशिला वितपन वायुरे वायुटि मिशि ॥
पृथ्वी आप तेज वायव्य आकाश पञ्चात्मिक पञ्चजन ।
प्रत्यक्षे परम अरूप अनाम महाशून्ये हेला लीन ॥
महाशून्य ज्योति अरूप अश्रुति रूप रेख यहिं नाहिं ।
हुताशन अग्नि महाशून्य होइ ज्योतिरानन्द वोलाइ ॥"

(२३ अध्याय)

"The essence is hidden in the primordial essence, the part is absorbed in the eternal whole. On the spotless Alekhapura is imprinted a divine form. On the bank of the Kālindī, under the Kadamba tree, the gods begin to shed lusters from their bodies. Hearing the sweet voice of Champaka-lalitā and Prema-latā, Ramā is mad with love. The voice is as sweet as music, and as delicious as nector. In the Great Void where there is no day and no night, millions of suns begin to shine. I saw the animated world lost in the inanimate, water mixed with water, fire with fire, and air with air. The five senses

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made up of the five substances—earth, water, fire, air, and sky—became merged in the great eternal void without form and without name in my presence. The Great Void is effulgent, it has no sense of sight or hearing, there is not a single line or form in it. That brilliant Fire becomes the Great Void and is called Jyotirānanda (blissful light.)"

Crypto Buddhists of the 16th and the 17th Century.

The Mādhyamikas were absolute Anātmavādins (champions of the doctrine of non-egoism);* while the aforesaid devout poets were all of them Ātmavādins (followers of the doctrine of egoism) though they supported the doctrine of the void, for Paramātman, the great Ego or the Great Void, was, as the Brahman, the central idea about which all the effervescense of their devout poetic inspirations gathered. How then can these poets be regarded as Crypto-Buddhists?

It has been shewn in the beginning of this treatise that the ancient Buddhistic community came to be divided, in course of time, into various sects. Of these the Yogāchāra School believed in the existence of the soul or Ego, but the others did not subscribe to this belief. We have also found that the Mādhyamikas looked with some disfavour and suspicion upon the Bodhisattvayānas or Çrāvakayānas, closely following the footsteps of the Sthavira Sect, because many of them were found to believe in the existence of the soul or Ego. It has further been noted almost at the outset that the sect of the Mantrayānas which sprang into existence about the fourth Century A.D. believed in the unification of the Jīvātman (individual soul) and the Paramātman (the universal soul). Nāgārjuna

* *Vide* Suzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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the expounder of the doctrine of the void and after him Dingnāga, the great Buddhistic logician, had exercised great influences in Utkala. Even so late as the seventh Century when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chuang) came to visit India, he found here many remnants of their influences. Though in Oḍra he had found the Mahāyānists in all their glory and greatness, what he saw in Kalinga was but the Mahāyāna Sthavira Sect. The sect of the Hīnayānas sprang from the primitive Sthavira cult, and it is very likely that the Mahāyāna Sthavira Sect which came into existence in later times was simply the outcome of the union of these two into one. For long the voice of the Hīnayānas was the predominant one in Northern Bengal, and though in the time of the Pāla Dynasty many of them were forced to embrace the creed of the Mahāyānists, yet their original doctrines, ideas and beliefs were not altogether effaced; rather, they grew and were mixed up with their new acquisitions. We have already said that Nāgārjuna had accepted the theories and doctrines of the Gītā and the Upaniṣads. No wonder, therefore, that the Mantrayānas, who followed his creed, also accepted and tried to assimilate the Ātmavāda, doctrine of egoism, as expounded in the Gītā. Nepal was the chief abode of the Mahāyānists. After the principal Buddhist College of Nālanda was destroyed and razed to the ground on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, many of the Buddhist Çramaṇas of the place went to and took refuge in Nepal with their religious scriptures. The relics of these sacred writings are even now to be met with there. It was with the help of these and with the assistance rendered by one of Vajrāchāryas of the present Vajrayāna

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sect of Nepal, which is only a debased form of the Mantrayāna cult, derived in its turn from the Mahāyāna School, that Mr. Hodgson has been able to detect four different sects dividing amongst themselves the Buddhistic community of the place. The names of these four schools are Svābhāvikas, Aiçvarikas, Kārmikas and Yātnikas. Mr. Hodgson's remarks may be thus summed up—

The Svābhāvikas, apparently the oldest of the four schools, is again subdivided into two sects, *viz.*, Svābhāvikas simple and Prājñika Svābhāvikas. The former hold that nature or matter alone exists, engaged in an eternal evolution of entity and non-entity; while, according to the latter, matter in two modes, abstract or proper and concrete or contingent, is the sole substance. All the active and intelligent powers are unitised in the first mode, as inherent in matter, which is here deified and held to be unity, immutability, rest and bliss. The actual and visible nature, the scene of action, multiplicity, change and pain, is the result of the second mode. The first is called Nivṛtti and the second Pravṛtti. The powers of matter in their unity are indescribable; but in their concrete forms, *i.e.*, as nature, 'they are symbolised by the *yoni* and personified as a female divinity called Ādi-Prajñā and Ādi-Dharma.' Transmigrations are due to Pravṛtti, Nivṛtti producing eternal bliss. To attain this is the *summum bonum* (the highest good) of man.

In their interpretation of Nivṛtti, there is a division amongst the Aiçvarikas, some holding that 'Buddha represents intellectual essence and is the sole entity,' and others that 'Dharma

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or material essence exists with Buddha in Nivṛtti,' the two being inseparable there. When the essential principle of matter passes into the state of Pravṛtti, Buddha, the type of active power, first proceeds from it and then associates with it; and from that association results the actual visible world. The principle is feigned to be a female, first the matter and then the wife of Buddha.

The Kārmika School is so called from the word Karma, 'meaning moral action,' and the *yātnika* from the word *yatna*, signifying intellectual force, skilful efforts.' They are simply later developments of and supplements to the first two schools. Both the Svābhāvikas and the Aiçvarikas had in their own ways 'assigned that eternal necessary connection of virtue and felicity in which they alike believed.' The Kārmikas and the Yātnikas did not raise this question but confined themselves 'to the phenomena of human nature, its free-will, its sense of right and wrong and its mental power—to the wisdom of Svabhāva or Prajñā or Ādi-Buddha.' There were two questions here—Is that connection to be realized by man by 'the just conduct of his understanding?' or, is it to be realized by 'the proper cultivation of his moral sense?' In reply, the Yātnikas stood for the understanding and the Kārmikas for the moral sense, and thus they removed "the obloquy so justly attaching to the ancient Prājñika and even to the Aiçvarika School, because of the want of providence and of dominion in their first cause." Çākya gives the following descriptions of Karma and Yatna in Divyāvadāna, "The Union of Upāya and Prajñā is Karma, while Yatna is produced by Īçvara (*i.e.*, Ādi-Buddha) from Prajñā or Nivṛtti, and all the difficulties that

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occur in the affairs of this world or of the next are rendered easy by Yatna." Impersonality and quiescence of the first cause with which the Svābhāvikas and the Aiçvarikas were charged were removed by these two schools by attributing free-will to man and moral attributes to God. The Kārmikas believe that fate is their own creation "पूर्व्वजन्मकृतं कर्म तद्दैवमिति कथ्यते."

Just as in Nepal the whole Buddhistic community is found at present to have been divided into four different sects, so in Utkala, after the destruction of Nālanda, the resident Buddhists were divided into several prominent sects, all springing up as results of the contact they successively came in with the different phases of Buddhism. Even so late as the 16th Century traces of their quondam influence and relics of their scriptures were discernible in Utkala. Achyutānanda Dāsa has thus referred to these schools in his Çūnya-Saṁhitā—

"नागान्तक वेदान्तक योगान्तक जेते ।
नाना मति विधिरे कहिले तोष चित्ते ॥
गोरखनाथङ्क विद्या वीरसिंह आज्ञा ।
मच्छिकानाथङ्क योग बाउलौ प्रतिज्ञा ॥
लोहिदास कपिलङ्क शान्तिमन्त्र जेते ।
कहिले जे येमन्त से होईछि गुपते ॥" (१० अध्याय)

"The Nāgāntākà (followers of Nāgārjuna), the Vedāntaka, (or Sautrāntika Schools) and the Yogāntaka (or Yogāchāra School)—all these have laid down, with all the sincerity of their faiths, various laws and bye-laws of conduct. The system of religious observances and practices inaugurated by Gorakṣanātha under the command

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of Vīra Simha, the Yoga system of Mallikānātha, the doctrine of the Bāuli or Bāula Sect, and the Sākṣimantras of Lohidāsa and Kapila—all these have been buried in secrecy."

Now, on the strength of these lines we can safely assert that Nāgāntaka or the Mādhyamika Philosophy introduced by Nāgārjuna, the Yogāchāra or the system of rites and observances closely akin to those of Yoga as introduced and enjoined by Asaŋga and others, and the time-honoured school of Buddhism, called Sautāntrika, dealing with ancient Sutras or Buddhistic dogmas based upon the Upaniṣads—these three schools of thought; and the Haṭha-Yoga systems introduced and propagated by Gorakṣanātha* and Mallikānātha who flourished in later times, the doctrines of the Bāula sect, and the mantras introduced by Lohidāsa,† and Kapila—all these were all along alive and active, though driven underground by the force of many antagonistic circumstances. We take the Aiçvarika, Kārmika or Yātnika School of thought which obtains among the Buddhistic community of Nepal, to be but

* Guru Gorakṣanātha was a disciple of Minanatha otherwise known as Matsyendra. The memory of the latter is worshipped by the Newar Buddhistas as being the tutelary deity of Nepal. In the history of Tibetan Buddhism Gorakṣanātha occupies a very prominent place, being honoured and worshipped as one of the principal Buddhist sages. We learn from the pen of Lāma Tāranātha, historian of Buddhism, that the whole sect of the disciples and followers of Goraksanātha embraced the cult of Caivism in the thirteenth century A D. Even now he is held in great esteem and deified as Civa by the Yogi class It has been hinted at in Cunya-Samhita that both he and Mallikanatha were *Yogarurhas*, *i e.* staunch adherents of the system of Yogāchāra.

† In the religious books of the Dharma cult of Rārha, Lohidāsa has been referred to as Lohichandra or Luhichandra. In Cunyapurana we find an allusion to the worship of Dharma or Cunya by Rājā Harichandra, father of Lohichandra, and Madanā his mother. Mention is made in Cunya-Samhitā also of the *pravrajyā*, *matha* and Nirakāra-Dhyāna resorted to by Lohidāsa, and the reverse mode of Sādhana (devotion and prayer) after the principles of 'Nagantaka' or Nagarjuna.

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the latest phases of the Yogāntaka School of philosophy (which is in reality an attempt at a compromise between the ancient Yogāchāra and the Vedānta Philosophy), and the Svābhāvika or Prājñika Svābhāvika School, also to be met with there, survived as the Nāgāntaka School of Orissa—being a later development of the Mādhyamika School inaugurated by Nāgārjuna. It also becomes clear and evident even from Çūnya-saṁhitā that in the 16th Century A.D., Utkala was largely under the influence of the Mahāyāna School in its two branches of Yogāchāra and Mādhyamika. Besides, it has been clearly established from the Viṣṇugarbha of Chaitanya Dāsa and the Dharmagītā of Mahādeva Dāsa that the worship of the Pañcha-Dhyāni Buddha which even now obtains among the Newar Buddhists and the worship and narration of the traditional story of Dharma introduced by Rāmāi Paṇḍit in the time of the Pāla Kings, were in vogue in Utkala at the time. To escape the persecution and oppression which followed in the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra, upon the Buddhists of all sects and schools, a large majority of them embraced the Gauḍīya phase of Vaiṣṇavism of Lord Çrī Chaitanya. But it does not seem likely nor is it reasonable to expect, that all of them were earnest and sincere converts to the later Vaiṣṇavism of Gauḍa. On the contrary, we hope, it would not be too much to infer and assert that though many of them gave themselves out to be devout Vaiṣṇavas and staunch and loyal devotees of Mahāprabhu, yet they were, in their heart of hearts, but votaries of Buddha. And we can safely count Achyutānanda, Balarāmadāsa, Jagannātha and Chaitanyadāsa, referred to before, among this class of Vaiṣṇavas. Achyutānanda has himself

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thrown a flood of side light upon this in his Çūnya-saṁhita. It is related in his Nirākāra-Saṁhitā that implicitly obeying the direction of Çrī Chaitanya, Achuytānanda first became a convert to Vaiṣṇavism under Sanātana Gosvāmi and following the custom and practice of this sect, he put on all their outward marks. Referring to himself in his work he says that shortly after his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, he could in no way bring his mind to take any the least interest in mundane matters. With the lapse of time this tendency became more and more marked, and his parents grew more and more dissatisfied and disgusted with him. Thus the only bonds that tried to tie him down to the concerns of the world, broke asunder of themselves, making him quite loose and free to follow the dictates of his own soul. In course of time the Nirguṇa made Himself manifest to him, illumining the innermost recesses of his heart and calming and pacifying the storm of passion and desire. At length, ten years and ten months after his conversion, at the foot of the western banian tree and in the village of Tripura on the bank of the river Paṭanā, he was graced by the presence of his Guru Brahma in his naked and untrimmed sublimity. His name was 'Mahānanda'. The mighty preceptor initiated him into the secrets and mysteries of religion and explained to him that the ultimate object of devotion, upon which alone the mind was to be concentrated, with reference to the attainment of which the whole life was to be regulated, and which was greater than the greatest of the preceptors, was 'Sachchidānanda' 'Anādi Nirvāṇa.†'—a stage where it is all

† Vide Nirakara Samhita.

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eternal life, eternal bliss and consciousness. A short while after this Achyuta came to the forest of Daṇḍaka, on the eastern bank of the Prāchī and visited many Ṛṣis and Tapasvins (hermits, sages and ascetics). The misunderstandings and dissensions, which prevailed among these, have not been passed over in silence in Çūnya Saṁhita. About a week after this, at dead of night and in the heart of a dense forest, he was graced with the presence of Lord Buddha. Achyuta has thus alluded to him in his Çūnya Saṁhitā :—

"For five or seven days I walked into the dense forest in search of my Lord. One day at dead of night when I was deeply absorbed in studying the details of those who have met him and who have not, I was graced with His presence. He said 'Long and tedious has been the separation between myself and the five souls of my life. I would not rest till I met you.' Having heard this, I fell prostrate at His feet, cried aloud "Saved, O I am saved now!' and informed Him of all the thoughts and ideas of my mind. Having heard me, the Lord burst into a fit of laughter and said 'Listen, Achyuta, to what I say. In the Kaliyuga, I have made myself manifest again as Buddha. It is desirable, however, for you in the Kaliyuga to hide your Buddhistic frames of mind away from view. You (five) are indeed my five souls, my five lives. Having undergone incarnation, I have found you back. All troubles and calamities will now be put an end to by means of the Nirākāra-mantra (devotion to formless Brahman or Çūnya). Having saved yourselves first by this, you will save others afterwards. I tell you, take refuge in Buddha,—in mother Ādi-çakti or the first primordial energy

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(*i.e.* Dharma) and in the Saṅgha* (congregation). By devoting yourself to the Nirākāra, you will be chastened and purified with an influx of piety, all pure and transparent. Having said all this, He initiated me into the religion of the Nirādhāra, (self-sustained) and instructed me to go back into the world and propagate this religion (as the means of salvation) in this Kaliyuga. The Lord said also "Know that Buddha is none else but Brahma Himself. And in this form do I dwell inside all bodies. Go, Ye Achyuta, Ananta, Jaçovanta, Balarāma and Jagannātha, go and publish what I say to you." Having been thus ordered, we five, instead of going to Manayāna entered the forest when Rṣis and Tapasvins, the Sannyāsins, the followers of Vīra Siṁha, Rohidāsa and Kapila, and the Bāula sect, all these bodies gathered together in an assembly, and there made known the wishes and directions of the Lord. I explained to them the Mantra, Yantra and Karanyāsa, appropriate to the Çūnya or Void. Upon this all the sages blessed themselves and blessed the name of the Lord. They then understood that Çūnya Brahma, devoid of all forms, Himself resides as light, inside all bodies. The moving and the stationary, the insect and the fly, inside all these are the Çūnya Puruṣa, and the Çūnya Yantra. The Nirākāra (formless) Yantra which is the essence (emblem ?) of the Çūnyapuruṣa, who is a helpmate of the meek in spirit, has revealed all this out of great kindness."†

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* By many of the later ill-informed writers *Sangha* was changed into *Saukha*.

† "पाच सात हिनरि प्रवेश हेउ याइ' ।
गहने खट्ट पभु नियोगरि याइ ॥
मिमि नरेंनागीन पढ़ह हारतम ।
कै पाडवा न पाडवा प्रभु नियोगीव ॥

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There can now be no shadow of a doubt about the fact that the five great souls, *viz.* Jagannātha, Balarāma, Achyuta, Ananta and Jaçovanta Dāsa, who have up till now generally passed for devout Vaiṣṇava poets, were in the sixteenth century the 'five lives' of the Buddhists *i.e.* mighty pillars of the great structure of the crypto Buddhistic community of Utkal. They acknowledged and sang the glory of the Trinity. We have already quoted, in connection with the history of the Bāthuri tribe the Çūnya or Dharma Gāyatrī that is to be found in the 'Siddhānta-ḍambara' of Balarāma Dāsa. There also the

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अन्तर्धान होन्ति मनु जगमाने पाइ ।
एहि समयकु ये दर्शन कलुं याइ ॥
बोइले मो प्राण दस शाखा काहिं थिल ।
निर्योम न हुवे मोते तुम्भेत मरल ॥
एहा शुणि थरथर तलें मुं पड़िलि ।
निस्तरिलि निस्तरिलि बोलिण बोइलि ॥
जनाइबि ठाकुरे सकल कथा मुहिं ।
हसिण उठिन्ति प्रभु टह टह होइ ॥
बोइले अच्युत तुम्भे शुण आम वाणी ।
कलियुगे बुद्धरूपे प्रकाशिलु पुणि ॥
कलियुगे बौद्धरूपे निजरूप गोप्य ।
* * * * *

तुम्भे मोर पञ्च आत्मा अट पञ्च प्राण ।
अवतार शेषो येने तुम्भ पाइं पुण ॥
निराकार मन्त्रे सर्व्व दुर्गति हरिब ।
आपने तरिब से ये परे तराइब ॥
बुद्ध माता आदिशक्ति संघ अछन्ति कहि ।
निराकार भजने निर्म्मल भक्ति पाइ ॥
एमन्त कहि से देलि मन्त्र निराधार ।
आज्ञा देले कलियुगे कर या प्रचार ॥
चिन्तिब कहिले प्रभु स्वयं ब्रह्म एहि ।
मुहिं एहि रूपे अछि सर्व्वे घटे रहि ॥

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meditation upon or the mental recitation of, this trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Saŋgha are hinted at, as the means of salvation. The Manayāna that is alluded to in Çūnya Saṁhitā, seems to be but another form of the name, 'Mantrayāna.' Achyutyānanda said that, in his time the influence of the Manayāna or Mantrayāna sect had considerably dwindled; and it was for this that the images of gods which were originally all of the mind, or to be realised from the mantras, had been reduced to images of wood, stone or earth, rendering it impossible to realise any longer their true natures and characteristics. And it was for this degeneration that Bhagavat propagated through the medium of these five men, the doctrine of the Çūnya Brahman putting on the guise of Buddha, for the salvation of the sinner and the sufferer of the Kali-yuga.

पाठ अच्युत अनन्त यशोवन्तदास ।
बलराम जगन्नाथ कर या प्रकाश ॥
आज्ञा पाइ आणि पाञ्च जन ये आइलु ।
मनयान न अविद्या बमे प्रवेशिलुं ॥
अवि तपि उन्नाशी मानक बीरसिंह ।
घोडोदास बाउली करिब येते छड़ ॥
सभा मध्यरख ये वसिलि सर्व्व तपि ।
पचारिल्लि प्रभुङ्क कि आज्ञा होइ अछि ॥
कहिलि मुं शून्य मन्त्र यन्त्र करन्यास ।
तपिमाने जय जय कल्लि ये प्रकाश ॥
देखिले ये शून्य ब्रह्म स्वयं ज्योति होई ।
घटे घटे विजे अछि शून्यकाया देही ॥
स्थावर जङ्गम कीट पतङ्गादि येते ।
शून्यकाया शून्ययन्त्र विजे घटे घटे ॥
शून्य कायाकु ये निराकार यन्त्र सार ।
भक्ता दया कहि दीन जनङ्क ओदर ॥"

(शून्यसंहिता १० अध्याय)

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Though they were sincere Buddhists, being votaries of Buddha, yet they found it necessary, nay unavoidable, to keep their Buddhistic frames of mind hidden under the guise of Vaiṣṇavism—for fear of the persecutions by the Brāhmaṇas and Kings. It is for this that we find the following line in Achyutānanda's Çūnya Saṁhītā—

"कलियुगे बौद्धरे निजरूप गोपय" ।

"It is desirable in the Kaliyuga that the followers of Buddha should be disguised."

Not only Achyutadāsa but almost all the ancient poets of Utkala when singing of the ten incarnations, have referred to Jagannātha or the Dāru-Brahma as being one and the same with the incarnation of Buddha, the saviour of men in the Kali-yuga.* Incarnation of Buddha.

Vyāsa also expressed in his Bhāgavata Purāṇa (1.3.24)—

"ततः कलौ संप्रवृत्त संमोहाय सुरद्विषाम् ।
बुद्धनाम्नाञ्जनसुत कीकटेषु भविष्यति ।"

"Then on the advent of Kaliyuga, for the purpose of misleading the Asuras, the Lord will be born in Kikaṭa as son to Añjana, and named Buddha."

But the devout poet Jagannāth Dāsa did not subscribe to this; he affirmed, on the contrary, in the fifth skandha of his Bhāgavata :—

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* Thus the poet Saraladasa says in his Mahabharata.

"नवमे वन्दइ श्रीबुद्ध अवतार ।
बुद्धरूपे विजे कले श्रीनीलकन्दर ॥"

"In the ninth I pay my humble respects to the incarnation of Buddha, who in the form of Buddha dwelt in the Nilachala *i.e.* Puri."

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"प्रबुद्ध बुद्ध अवतारे । ज्ञानविस्तारि ए संसारे ॥
वेदर धर्म्म छड़ाइबे । निर्गुण धर्म्म प्रचारिबे ॥
कर्ताण न करिबे पुन । एनु ए मायार धेयान ॥
पुन एमत समयरे । सिद्ध अन्न हेब घरे घरे ॥
सकल वर्ण एक ठारे । बसि भुञ्जिब सुगसरे ॥"

"Coming down to the world as the all-wise Buddha, the Lord will diffuse knowledge, give up the religion inculcated in the Vedas and promulgate the doctrine of the Nirguṇa. None will then worship māyā again. And at this time, all the different castes will again sit together when partaking of boiled rice."

The purport of the lines is this. For the diffusion of real knowledge, for the setting aside of the vedic forms of worship and for the introduction and promulgation of the worship of the Nirguṇa Brahma—Buddha's incarnation will take place. Would any Paurāṇika Hindu save a pious and sincere follower of Buddha, acknowledge that it was Buddha who diffused real knowledge and introduced the worship of the Nirguṇa? Chaitanyadāsa in his Nirguṇa-māhātmya while singing of the glories of the twelve Avatāras has found more or less fault with all the other eleven incarnations. It was only Buddha whom he found all pure and stainless. Thus he says of Buddha—

"बहुत बुद्ध अवतारे । हरि जन्मिले ए संसारे ॥६९
यज्ञ धर्म्म निन्दा करि । ब्रह्मज्ञान कि प्रशंसिले ॥७०
सकल धर्म्म दूर करि कर्म्मर फल अनुसरि ॥७१
अनेक कर्म्म धर्म्म फल । यज्ञ तप व्रत फल ।७२
याग तपंच आदि करि । ए सर्व्व एक तुल्य धरि ॥७३
धर्म्म तद ये कलियुग । आउकी ब्रह्मज्ञान एक ॥७४
सकल धर्म्म आड करि । आउकी ब्रह्मज्ञान धरि ।७५
से ब्रह्मज्ञान यह आहे । भमइ न काइन्ति दाहे ।७६

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जेवें बाउझे खुडि वह। बार बाछ ये जेवें मह।৯০
ए भावे तुं हि दया करि। ब्रह्मज्ञानकु हइ थरि।৩৮
सकल धर्म उपेखिले। ब्रह्मज्ञानकु साध्य कले।০৯
योगध्यानरे स्थिर मन। राखिण ब्रह्मज्ञाने मन"।৮০

"Incarnated as many Buddhas, Hari came down into the world. He found fault with the jajña-dharma, *i.e.* religion based upon sacrifices, offerings and oblations, and expressed himself highly in favour of (the attainment of) the knowledge of Brahman (as the basis and essence of religion). Holding works, religious practices, sacrifices, austerities, religious vows, *tarpanas* &c., equally useless with respect to the fruits they are expected to yield, he followed simply the sequence of actions accepting their results unaffected in the least.

"The Kali-yuga is like a tree of religion of which the knowledge of Brahma is the only root. Discarding all the other religions, he clung to the root, *viz.* knowledge of Brahman. Those who have not attained this knowledge, will wander from door to door in ignorance. So one (craving for salvation) will have to uproot all other decaying trees and all the other evil practices which have struck root in his mind. In this way only can he save himself, concentrating his mind all the while upon the knowledge of Brahman. Buddha discarded all the other forms of religion and only attempted, heart and soul, to attain the knowledge of Brahman, settling down his mind by practising *yoga* and *dhyāna* and concentrating it upon the knowledge of Brahman."

We can very thoroughly understand from the above extract in what light Jagannātha or Buddha was held by these devout poets.

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Sangha or the congregation

From the Çūnya Samhitā we have gleaned the names of the places where these crypto Buddhists dwelt, as also the names of their leaders and their numbers as stated below :*—

Names of Places.	Names of Chiefs	Number of disciples.
Anantapur Casana on the bank of the Prachi ...	Dvija Krisnadasa Mahapatra	1000
On the banks of the Madhura ...	Bhagavan of the Yadu Dynasty, and Gopa Daitari ...	
About Kuntinagara, Kaçipura, Kalagni, and Rukuna Chaura ...		140
Kāçi Muktiçvara (a village near Bateçvara)	....	......
The village of Nembala on the Chitrotpala ...	Achyutananda	255
North to the place of (the) Pandavas ...	Ananta, Dvija Ganeça Pati, Kantha Ganak and Dvija Saranga	200 (Dasas) 300 of the Yadu dynasty.
On the bank of Brahmani ...		300
Yajanagara on the Vaitarani ...	Bandhu Mahanti ...	300
Varaha-mandala on the Vaitarani ...	Jagadananda Agnihotri ...	300

Achyutānanda says that thus veiling themselves in innumerable ways three thousand† votaries of Buddha were passing their days. Afraid of Kali, they were eagerly and anxiously waiting for the day when their Lord would again

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* Cunya Samhita, Chaps. XVII-XX.

† We find in Chapter XIX of Cunya Sambita :—

"आउ भकत येते मोर अछन्ति वच्छिवा पद्म टीकारे ।
ठिके पाञ्च शत गुपत करिलुं हेतु कर तु मनरे ॥"

"From Padmatikā you will know the names of the remaining votaries of mine. For certain reasons known to myself, the names of just 500 devotees are kept concealed."

We are sorry, however, that the Padmatika work referred to above has not been found by us. It is very likely that further glimpses into the history of the crypto Buddhists of the 16th Century will be obtained when this work will be brought to light

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come down and reveal himself in all his glory. One and all of these Buddhists firmly believed that for the propagation of the religion based upon the knowledge of Brahman, Bhagavat Buddha would again be incarnated. This belief is expressed by Achyutānanda in the following lines :—

"कमलाङ्क अंशी जनमिबे आसि कलिरे हेब उदय।
चारणंङ्के चिन्हाचिन्हि करिबे आपे प्रभु देहराय॥
मथुराक आसि आपे ब्रह्मराशि बउधरूप कलिरे।
तिन सहस्र निज अंश ताहाङ्कर तेजिबे प्रभु कि परे॥"

"In the Kali-yuga a part of Kamalāŋka will come down into, and be born in, the world. After incarnation, He and His devotees will recognise one another. In the Kali-yuga Brahman will first of all come to Madhurā, as Buddha, and will leave behind Him three thousand parts (*i.e.* faithful and devoted followers) of Himself."

BUDDHISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Many facts have recently come to light which will go far to prove that though in the 17th Century Buddhism was generally considered to have fallen below the horizon, yet its setting beams were still lingering over and illumining many parts of the country. Lt. Col. Waddel the wellknown historian of Lāmāism has brought out an English translation of the accounts of the travels of Buddha Gupta Tathāgatanātha, written in the Tibetan tongue. It was early in the beginning of the 17th Century *i.e.* in 1608 that this great Buddhistic pilgrim came on a visit to India. We cannot do better than quote the

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following, two passages from the English translation of his account :—

"Thence (*i.e.* from Sambuddha) he went to Bengala *via* Jagannāth and Trilinga : thence to Pundravartagarasalini from which in twenty days he reached the shrines Kasramagaram and Devikotta in the upper part of Tripura where he remained in the monastery formerly built by the great Siddha Kronākara. He also visited Haribhanja, Phukrād and Palgar. In these countries the clergy and the books were numerous and the religion prosperous. While there, he heard a variety of esoteric teachings from the life (lips ?) of a great Pundit named Dharma of the Haribhanja Chaitya and believed to be a pupil of great Siddha, and also found a Pandita Upasika Hetagarbaghanna. He also visited . . . . . chaitya and he saw the magic circles of Janakāya and Siddhānya Kaḍaka.

"On returning to India proper, Buddha Gupta visited Trilinga Vidyānagar, Karṇātaka and Bhamdoor. At the latter place he met the great Siddha Santagupta. Henceforth the pilgrim Buddhagupta is known as Buddhaguptanāth and he was especially empowered by the Jogin Dinakara and the great Guru Gambhīramati and he had taken instructions from the superior Uttara Suddhigarva and Gantapa, Belātikshana Bhirabandhu and Ghaghopa all of whom were followers of the aforesaid great Siddha Santagupta. He then went to Mahābodhi in the middle country and made a small house for meditation close to the north of Vajrāsana. Afterwards he visited the eight great shrines and Gridhrakuta Giriguphā and Prayāga. Forty-six years had now elapsed since his last meeting with Tirthanāth. Then he built an assembly house on Khagendra hill to

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which many Yogis resorted and he received royal patronage."

Thus we find that even in the Seventeenth Century there were to be seen a large number of the ministers of Buddhism, of both sexes, and possessing great supernatural powers,—at Haribhañja, Phukrāḍ and Pālgarh; and many Buddhistic scriptures of importance were also to be met with there. Let us now try to find out the exact situations of these places.

Haribhanja Chaitya.

We learn from the aforesaid account that from Tipperah Buddhaguptanāth went to Haribhañja. When he came here in the 17th Century, the capital of Mayurabhañja was located at Hariharapur or Haripur. We are afraid there has been a confusion of names here, the name of the capital having been taken for the name of the whole country. Thus Haribhañja of the Tibetan traveller was no other than the old Mayūrabhañja. It had for a long time been the centre of Buddhistic influence. Here it was that Buddhaguptanāth visited the Haribhañja-chaitya; and it was here also that he learned many an esoteric truth from the lips of a great Dharma Pandit and also from a Buddhistic Upāsikā named Hitagarbhaghanā.

Pukrad.

Phukrāḍ or Phugrāḍ.—The Tibetan word *Phug* means the solitary dwelling place of the Lāmās for the purpose of meditation; and *Phugpa* means "a recess in a rock, a cave." Hence Phugrāḍ means a Rāḍha 'country' abounding in recesses or caves for the meditation of the Siddhas. As the entire province of Mayūrabhañja or for the matter of that, the hilly parts of it are known as Rāḍha to the people, it may not be unsafe to infer that Phukrāḍ, in the above account, refers to the hilly tracts of Mayūrabhañja interspersed with Siddhaguhās.

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Palgar.

It is very likely that Pālgaḍa was but another name of the modern Pāllaharā, one of the eighteen Gaḍajāts or Feudatory States of Orissa. It is said that at one time the descendants of the Pāla Kings reigned here; and the ruins of Buddhism are still to be met with there in large numbers.

Discovery of a modern Chaitya.

We should now try to find out the exact locality of the Haribhañja Chaitya, where Hitagarbha-Ghanā, the Buddhist Upāsikā, presided, where a vast number of Buddhist Çramaṇas lived and moved and many a religious book was read and taught, and where from far-off countries, students and observers flocked in large numbers to be initiated into the mysteries of the religion.

Both from the small Chaitya that has recently been discovered near Bodhipukhur in the village of Baḍasāi, and the materials that can be gathered from the place, it appears to be very likely that the ancient Haribhañja Chaitya must have been situated somewhere near it. One will invariably see in Nepal that wherever there was a big chaitya, there was also a large number of smaller ones about it and built in imitation of it. In Nepal the images of Ādi Buddha, Pañcha Dhyāni Buddha and Triratna (*i.e.* Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) are to be found enshrined in every Chaitya and by the side of each Chaitya are to be met with the statues of Hārīti and Çītalā. The small Chaitya discovered near Baḍasāi is known to the Hindus as Chandrasenā. It is considered to have been either the prototype or the foundation of a larger one. The following lines well express the general import of the chaityas :—

" The chaitya may be regarded as the foundation on which the ecclesiastical architecture of the Buddhists is based, and as supplying the model from which nearly all their principal

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temples whether they be dedicatory, memorial or funeral, have been constructed."

Thus writes Dr. Oldfield about the Buddhistic chaityas of Nepal—

"In almost all chaityas of whatever size, small as well as large, round the base of the hemisphere there are four niches or shrines—one opposite to each of the four cardinal points—in which are placed seated figures of four out of the five Divine Buddhas—Akṣobhya is enshrined in the eastern niche, Ratnasambhava in the southern, Amitābha in the western and Amoghasiddha in the northern. There is always a shrine to Vairochana."

In this model chaitya are to be found four figures in the four niches. They represent Akṣobhya and three other Dhyāni Buddhas with their Vāhanas and Bodhisattvas. By the side of this chaitya is an image of Dharma. Similar figures are also to be met with by the side of the majority of the chaityas in Nepal. In the following passages the reader will find an accurate description of this figure of Dharma :—

"Dharma's figure is always that of a female with prominent bosoms, two of her hands are brought together in front of her chest with the points of the fore fingers and thumbs in contact as in the Dharmachakramudrā of Vairochana; in a third hand she holds either a lotus flower or else a book containing the scriptures or law of Buddha; and in her fourth hand she has a Mālā or rosary of beads."

"In a shrine at the Chillandeo temple, Kirtipur, the figure of Dharma, on the left of Buddha, has four hands of which two are empty, in the third is a book and in the fourth a rosary."

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This description of Dharma is exactly applicable in the case of the figure found at Baḍasai. Another figure of a similar description—but with two hands,—was also found in the Mahā Bodhi at Gayā, bearing inscriptions of the 12th Century A. D. In his Virāṭa Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa is found to have said "धमवर्ण हला शक्ति" *i.e.* 'Çakti or the creative power took the form of Dharma.' In Nepal she is also known as Guhyeçvari. At Baḍasāi the figure of Çītalā is to be seen close by the image of Dharma. This practice of enshrining the figure of Çītalā in close proximity of that of Dharma is also followed in Nepal. "The goddess Çītalā was universally believed to afford necessary protection to all who sought her aid. The Buddhists accordingly recognised her divinity and besought her protection; they enrolled her among the list of their subordinate deities and erected a temple to her honour beneath the very shadow of the temple of Ādi Buddha at Çambhunāth."

The existence of the model chaitya and the figures of Dharma and Çītalā afford us strong grounds for believing that at one time there was also a larger chaitya in the vicinity. These images had formerly been located in the close proximity of a tank, known as Bodhipukur, probably from the Buddhistic chaitya, and have only been recently brought into the village. Extensive corn-fields only are, however, to be seen now, rolling far and away from the embankments of the tank on all sides—no relics of the supposed ancient chaitya, no, not even a faint shadow of them, will now satisfy the longing gaze of the antiquary.

When the Tibetan pilgrim visited the country, the Bhañja Rājās had their capital at Haripur. From here Bodhipukur was only five miles off.

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Excepting the small chaitya and the image of Dharma that we came upon in the course of our exploration and antiquarian researches, no Buddhistic relics of any kind, of a modern chaitya were to be found in the locality. So it will not be very wide of the mark to infer, we presume, that the Haribhañja chaitya referred to by the Tibetan pilgrim, existed somewhere near Baḍasāi,—and here it was that he met with a Dharma Paṇḍita and received many esoteric instructions. In the course of our researches in the village we came across also some Oriya Mss. such as Siddhānta-ḍambara, Anākāra Saṁhitā, Amarapaṭala, and songs of Govinda Chandra, the great mendicant King of Bengal.

Thus these facts cannot but convince the most casual thinker that this place was once the centre of Buddhistic thought and activity.

Dr. Oldfield thus explains the views of the Buddhist Newars :—

"The Materialists (*i. e.* the follower of the ancient Mahāyāna system) assign the first place in their Trinity to *Dharma*, as the spirit representing matter, from which everything in heaven or earth originally sprung.

"They deify Dharma as a goddess, under the names of Ādi-Dharma, Prajñā Devī, Dharma Devī, Ārya-Tārā ; using any or all of these epithets as synonyms to signify the supreme, self-existent powers of *Nature*, whom they worship as the universal *Mother*, not only of all mankind, but of all the heavenly deities. All Buddhists are her children, and, therefore, all are brothers.

"The Materialists make Budd'ha subordinate to Dharma, and give him the second place in

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their trinity. They look on him as derived from Dharma, springing from her as a son from a parent, and then reacting upon her in some mysterious way, the result of which was the production of the Buddhas and of all other animated beings.

"Saŋgha, the Materialists regard as the type of all the forms of visible nature, which are produced by the creative power inherent to matter and which spontaneously result from the union and association of Dharma with Buddha."*

In the course of our sojourn at Baḍasāi† we came to learn that once there lived a caste known as 'Yogis' there. They had in their possession several Mss. treating of the Dharma cult. Their professional duty was to sing songs relating to Rājā Govinda Chandra and the praises of Dharma. From Baḍasāi they migrated to the Nilgiri where they are even now to be found. We happened to find here in the house of a poor rustic a Ms. entitled "The Songs of Rāja Govinda Chandra" by Kālabhārati. Formerly it was the the property of an old Yogi resident of the place. We do strongly believe that if a thorough and sifting search be instituted for the purpose at Baḍasāi and the surrounding places, similar important manuscripts can be recovered from oblivion and impending destruction.

We have said above that in the course of our exploration in Baḍasāi we have found the figures of Dharma and Çītalā only. Now it may reasonably be asked—How is it that the images of Buddha and Saŋgha are not included in the group, if the

* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol II p. 95-97.
† Vide Report on Badasai.

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place was, as asserted, a centre of Buddhistic influence? On this point, some are of opinion that these were removed or destroyed by the Mahomedans or the Marāthās. What, however, appears to us to be a more reasonable explanation is that in course of time a greater importance came to be attached to Dharma, and Buddha and Saṅgha happened to be relegated to less important places. When Dharma came to be worshipped in form, she was considered to be superior to Buddha and Saṅgha by a sect of the Buddhists. Thus in Svayambhū-Pūrāṇa she is addressed as follows—

"शून्यतां शून्यतां माता वुद्धमाता प्रकीर्त्तिता" ॥ (३ अः)

"The mother, the void of the great void is spoken of as the Buddhamātā."

In the Uriya Ms. of Çūnya Saṁhitā by Achyutānanda Dāsa it is said—

"वुद्ध माता आदिशक्ति सङ्घ स्तुतिन्त कहि ।" (१० अः)

"Thus I say, take refuge in Buddha, in Mātā Ādiçakti *i.e.* the primodial energy (Dharma) and the Saṅgha."

Why Dharma is still worshipped and why Buddha and Saṅgha have been entirely cast in the shade, are sufficiently explained in these passages. Brāhmaṇas are not allowed to officiate in the worship of the above Dharma, Çītalā or Chaitya; but worship is offered to these deities by the lower class of Dehuries. Formerly, only the Bāthuries were in enjoyment of this privilege and even now they are sometimes seen to officiate as priests at the pujās of these deities. The day of the full moon in Vaisākha is a sacred day of the Buddhists. Throughout the whole Buddhis-

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tic world, it is observed in connection with the nativity, the spiritual enlightenment and the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha. And on this Vaisākhi Pūrṇīmā day worship is also offered to the abovementioned Buddhistic Chaitya, Chandra-Senā.* and a great festival is held. This practice has obtained for a long time past and is known in the locality as Uḍāparva. Some twenty to twenty-five thousand low class people muster there on the occasion, the Bāthuris, of course, forming the majority. Dressed as *Bhakats*, they celebrate the ceremony of the Chaitya Pūjā, suffer themselves to be pierced without a murmur with a hook, and merrily and lustily swing on the Chaḍaka.

A very great enthusiasm prevails on the occasion. Sometimes even so large a number as two hundred *Bhakats* vie with one another to have their bodies pierced with hooks—impelled by a strong and irresistible desire to have their vows to the effect literally fulfilled ; a piece of cloth is then tied round their bodies over the pierced parts, and lustily do they enjoy swings on the Chaḍaka post planted for the purpose. Even the public in general regard this festival held once annually, as a highly holy and dignified one. Even the Brāhmaṇas are second to no other castes in their regard and enthusiasm for this festival. Including as it did the worship of the images of the five divine Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, it was an object of great sanctity and veneration to the Buddhists. In Nepal too, a similar worship is offered in the places in which similar figures have been enshrined.

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* That Chandra-sena is associated with Buddhism is unmistakably borne out by the Oriya poet Manohara Dasa in his Amarkosa Gita. See p. ccxxxvi.

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At Baḍasāi the Chaitya is worshipped only once a year *viz.*, on the Vaiçākhī Pūrṇimā day when the Uḍāparva is celebrated; but the case of Çītalā is quite different. For long she has been frequently receiving the worship of the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. The figure of Çītalā now passes there for that of Kālikā, and for this reason even the Brāhmaṇas feel no scruples in worshipping her. But generally the worship of this deity is entrusted to the low class Dehuris, who have been in return for this service long enjoying the benefits derived from the property endowed and set apart for the performance of the worship.

Beside this chaitya and the images of Dharma and Çītalā, there are also to be found near Rāṇibandh only 3 miles off from Baḍasāi, beautiful figures of Khaṣarpaṇa Lokeçvara (Avalokiteçvara) and Ārya Tārā, and also an image of Jāṅguli Tārā, near Haripur. These are the only remnants, that have been recovered, of Buddhism, and in a place where only two centuries and a half before there flourished many a Buddhistic upāsaka and upāsikā, where there flocked Buddhist priests and laymen even from Tibet and other distant places to have a view of the famous chaitya which once stood towering there, and where many a student came to obtain esoteric instructions, undeterred by the difficulties and obtacles that would encounter him on his way.

We have remarked, while dealing with Dharma Gītā, that its author, Mahādeva Dāsa, flourished in the 17th Century. As one of the results of a critical study of his work, one has to come to the irresistible conclusion that like Rāmāi Paṇḍit of Bengal, he also set his mind upon the extollation and promulgation of the glories and great-

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nesses, powers and potencies of Dharma as the sole object of his life. Though some minor differences may be observed in the histories of religious development in Rāḍha and Utkal due to differences in the natural constitutions of the two countries, the changes wrought upon them by time and the differences in the mental constitution of the people of the two provinces, extending over centuries, yet there can but be little doubt that originally these histories are but one and the same, just as much as the two branches of the same tree. And it seems to us that the Tibetan pilgrim referred to some such Paṇḍit as this Mahādeva Dāsa the author of Dharma Gītā. Further, it also seems very likely to us that the esoteric works, referred to by the Tibetan pilgrim are nothing but the religious books composed by Balarāma, Jagannātha, Achyutānanda, Ananta, Yaçovanta, Chaitanya, Mahādeva and others of their stamp.

We find sufficient traces of the great sway which the doctrine of Çūnya, discussed above at some length, once exercised upon the minds of men in the religious literature of the poets and gentlemen who hallowed and sanctified Utkala in this century or the century after. A study of such works as the Mahīmaṇḍala Gītā of Arakṣita Dāsa, the Çūnyarāsa of Nārāṇa Dāsa, the Brahmajñana-Gītā of Paraçurāma Dāsa and the Nāma-Brahma Gītā of Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa will clearly convince any one of the truth of our assertion.

THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM.

We have learnt from the various religious books of Utkala of the 16th, the 17th and even of the 18th century, that many crypto Buddhists

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were then residing in various parts of the country. In the hills and the forests of the Gaḍajāts, they cherished the loving memory of their religion and made no secret of it amongst themselves, though, in society, they passed for devout Vaiṣṇavas. The Buddhist pilgrims of Tibbet and other far-off places who came on visits to India did, however, see through their veils and acknowledged them to be their co-religionists.

On this point, we have in the last Census Report, "In the 17th century Buddha-Guptanātha wandered in various parts of India and found Buddhism flourishing in many places. Then it is lost altogether. For two or three centuries Buddhism was absolutely unknown in India."*

Incarnation of Buddha in the 19th century.

We cannot, however, fully subscribe to the above statement. There is ample evidence to show that even after the 18th century Buddhism was not altogether a lost creed—the much-honoured memory of Buddha was not altogether a forgotten thing in India. We find in the Amarakoṣa of Manohara Dāsa written only hundred years back, the following line :—

"अर्ज्जुन बुद्ध हेले जीव परम हेले कृष्ण ।"

"Arjuna *i.e.* Buddha is Jīva (the individual soul) and Kṛṣṇa is *parama* (*i.e.* the universal soul)."

While dealing with the Buddhist relics at Baḍasāi, we have noticed that there is a model Chaitya there, which is generally known by the

* Census Report of Bengal. 1901, Pt. I., p. 203

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name of 'Chandrasenā.' Of this Chandrasenā the same author says—

"चन्द्रसेना नामे एक दुयारि ।
घाट साधु अछि पथ आवरि ॥
ताहा सङ्गे येवे परचे होइ ।
बुद्ध पाइले भितरक याइ ॥"

"A door-keeper named Chandrasenā, who is also a tol-collector, is keeping watch upon the door. Any one, desirous of entering it, must make himself known to him. And if he be convinced that the visitor is a Buddhist, then and then only will he allow him admission."

Hence do we clearly see, that only so far as a century back the holy name of Buddha was on the lips of many crypto Buddhists who outwardly professed the Vaiṣṇava creed; nay, they even recognised Buddha as Jīvātman or the individual soul.

From a careful study of the Buddhistic scriptures, whether of ancient or of much later times, we do learn that the Buddhists never passed themselves for such, nor did they ever designate their faith as Buddhism. In every page of the history of their religion, they are found to have called it simply Dharma or at most 'Saddharma' or 'Sadharma', and to have styled themselves as 'Dharmin' or 'Saddharmin'. Following suit, the Utkala community of the veiled Buddhists has given the name 'Mahimā-dharma' to its creed and styles itself as 'Mahimā-dharmin.' Under the benign spirit of religious toleration and the noble and fostering spirit of freedom of thought inaugurated and scrupulously adhered to by the British Government, this community has begun, for over 40 years, to rouse itself up,

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to throw off its masks and to re-assert itself duly. We shall attempt to give below a brief history of its struggle for renascence.

For long these Utkala Buddhists had been cherishing the happy belief, handed down from generation to generation, that Buddha would again grace the world in flesh and blood for the diffusion of knowledge and the propagation of true religion. For over four hundred years such devout souls as Achyutānanda, Yaçovanta, and others had been singing of this. And we have it on the authority of the subsequent writers that their prediction has been literally fulfilled.

We have come to learn from 'Alekha-līlā,'* a religious book and also from the lips of many Mahāntas of this sect that about 50 years ago Bhagavat Buddha came down into the world. The subject of his worship was the Alekha-Brahma or the Great Void, and his object, the deliverance of the world. At first Bhagavat Buddha blessed the village of Golāsiŋgā in the State of Baud. Çrī Jagannātha also left Nīlāchala and came down to join him there. When Jagannātha was granted the interview he sought for, he asked of Buddha, "Would you please enlighten me on the points which have filled my heart with misgivings? Under whose direction and why have you come down as Guru?" And he replied "Then hear me, O Jagannātha (Lord of the world)—Under orders of Alekha, the Formless, I have come here. He, and none else, is the Great

* "वन्दइ अलेख ब्रह्म महाशून्ये स्थिति । परब्रह्मस्वामी यार चरणे अछन्ति ।"

(अलेखलीला ।)

"I make my obeisance to Alekha Brahman who dwells in the great void and at whose feet lies prostrate the Great Lord Para-Brahman."

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Void—the Formless One without a begining—the Highest of Gurus. The Kali has manifested itself everywhere. It is to destroy sin of the Kali-yuga that I have undergone incarnation.* Permit me, please, to initiate you into the doctrines of the true religion; then for the good of humanity, go to Kapilās and remain stock-still in a trance" Upon this, he delegated all his powers to lord Jagannātha who, then, went away, as directed, to Kapilās in the Dhenkānal State. Here he came to be known by the name of Govinda. And here, for the good of humanity, he remained deeply absorbed in a trance for a period of full twelve years. His staple food, then, was simply a very small quantity of milk and fresh water. At the expiration of the trance, he descended

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* "एते बेले बुद्धस्वामी कर्ण्णा चिन्ते कलि ।
काहाकु ये दीक्षा देइ मर्म्म निवर्त्तिले ॥
गुरुस्वामी ये मनरे आदिले अनर्थामी ॥ ५
एकाम्बरे बुद्धस्वामी शून्यमार्गे गले ।
बउद ये गोवाडिकरा धामरे मिळिले ॥
बुद्धरूप रे, मरतन वेश कले गोकारे ॥ ६
नीळाचळ तेजिण ये जगन्नाथ गले ।
गोवाडिका भूमिर पाइ ये मठ कले ॥
एहिचिन्ति ये, बुद्धस्वामी याइण भेटिले ये ॥ ७
जगन्नाथ कहुछन्ति शुणिमा गोसाइ ।
तुम्भे केंहु गुरु माते जनाउ न जाइ ॥
फेडि कह ये, यदि मनु किछि बहन्ति हे ये ॥ ८
बुद्धस्वामी कहुछन्ति शुण जगन्नाथ ।
अलेख आज्ञारे आसि होइ उपगत ।
महाशून्य ये, अरूप अनादि गुरुस्वामी हे ॥ ९
कलिपाप भार ये नाश हेब सुमति ।
आम्भ तहुं अनेक प्रकारे कला उपति ॥
पापनाश ये, कलियुग समयर न्नाह ये ॥" १० इत्यादि
(अलेखबोधः)

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from Kapilās, and for the propagation of the "Mahimā Dharma," blessed Bhīma Bhoi with 'the eye of knowledge' *i e* insight and self-consciousness. Then he disappeared, none knew whither, after having initiated into the true religion, many pious souls in Kapilās, Khaṇḍagiri, Maṇināga, and many other places.*

It is in many of the ancient religious books of Utkala that Jagannātha himself has been described as the incarnation of Buddha. In view of this, the above quotation may well lead one to question, how is it that Jagannātha, who was himself Buddha, was initiated by Buddha? The answer is not far to seek, if we will only take the troubles for it. Holders of this faith do never say that there was only one Buddha. Like the Mahāyānas of yore they also admit of a multiplicity of the incarnations of Buddha. And in support of their view they quote the following lines, quoted by us previously, from the Nirguṇa-māhātmya of Chaitanya Dāsa—

"बहुत बुद्ध अवतारे । हरि जन्मिले ए संसारे ।"

"Many were the incarnations of Hari as Buddha."

We find a detailed narration of this in the Buddhist Jātakas. We have shewn before, in connection with our treatment of the Pañcha-dhyāni Buddhas, that out of the lustre of the self-existent first Buddha came the Dhyāni Buddha; and out of the latter's came Bodhisattva. Dhyāni Buddha is engaged in a trance which is free from, and above, all illusions and doubts and it is Bodhisattva who fulfils

* According to some Buddha Svāmin again started the religious cycle in A.D. 1864.

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and brings to realization all his wishes and desires for the good of humanity. So we may accept the Buddhasvāmin of Alekha-līlā as Dhyāni Buddha, and Jagannātha as Bodhisattva or Padmapāṇi.

And just as Çākya Buddha entrusted Ānanda with the task of propagating his 'Saddharma,' so Bodhisattva in the form of Govinda (Jagannātha) left the duty of propagating his Mahimā dharma to his favourite disciple, Bhīma Bhoi.

Some of the adherents of this creed even hold that after Jagannātha had left Nīlāchala, he gave up his individual existence, and becoming one and the same with Buddhasvāmin in body and soul, went on with the task of more and more widening the circle of this religious movement. We find a detailed account in one of the scriptures of this sect, entitled Yaçomatīmālikā, as to when, why and how this movement was set on foot and carried on by Buddha; and we give just a glimpse of it to our readers by quoting at random from the same:—

"Garuḍa is addressing Jagannātha—

*'When wilt Thou that art the four-handed (Viṣṇu) incarnate Thyself in the form of Buddha of whom you have just spoken?'

"Hearing these words of Garuḍa the Lord replied, 'Hear me, O Lord of birds, I shall explain this to you in detail. But, bear in mind, what I am going to tell you is *a very great secret*, and you must not open your lips to any body about it.' 4-6.

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* बुद्ध अवतार जे कहिल पै यारा ।
केते बेले होइब कह मोतारा ॥

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"Hear my child, I shall tell you all. I am anxiously waiting for the time when Kali-yuga will come to its close. In the forty-first year (of the reign) of Mukunda Deva, I shall give up this life as Buddha and disappear altogether. And when I shall renounce this body, all the gods will follow suit, for Hari, Hara, Brahmā and myself are but one; and my soul will live in that of the Alekha. 133-136. Then assuming a form with the help of māyā, I shall pass for an *avadhūta* and be worshipping the lord Alekha. Then Kali will arrive there, complete in its four parts, and Brahman of great lustre, though nothing but the void, will assume a form and be born in the world. And this new god, the realiser of the wishes and desires of men, will visit Khaṇḍa-giri, Maṇināga and Kapilāsa. And satisfying his hunger and thirst with fruits, leaves of trees, milk and water, will be playing his various illusive tricks, the wide world over. But none, man or god, will be able to know when he will be

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गरुड़ वचन शुणि प्रभु बोलें मोर ।
शुण ताहा बुझाइ कहिबा पचिबर ॥ ५
अतिहि गुपत कथा कहि देबा तोते ।
काहि न कहिबु एहा बुझि थाउ चित्ते ॥ ६
"शुणरे नन्दन तोते देउअछि कहि ।
कलियुग शेष कतु चिनु वाट चाहि ॥ १३२
मुकुन्ददेवङ्क एकचालिश अङ्करे ।
बुद्धरूपकु तेजि हेबु गुपतरे ॥ १३४
आम्भे येते वेलि पिण्ड त्यजिबुरे सुत ।
तेतेबेळ देवता थाक हेबे सेहमत ॥ १३५
हरिहर ब्रह्मा एक अटइति हुँहि ।
निज आत्मा थिब मोर अलेखर संगि ॥ ३६

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born. 137-141. With the intention in his mind of playing a part with men upon the stage of the world, the Çūnyapuruṣa will undergo this incarnation—because the world will then be a hot-bed of vice and sin. Under my orders, many of his devotees have long been undergoing the pains of birth. In the incarnation as Buddha, he will play the rôle of Guru, preceptor, and will impart knowledge to and enlighten the minds of his disciples who will be known by the kumbhipaṭa (bark of a Kumbhi tree) they will put on. . . . . . 142-144. But veiled as he will then be, few but Bhīma Bhoi, his quondam follower, will be able to recognise him. He will first sing the praises of the Lord and will attain the position and honour of becoming one and the same with Çūnya of the Alekha-maṇḍala. And thereafter, under the precepts of the Guru, pious

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माया काया धरि अवधूत बुलाइबु ।
अलेख प्रभुङ्क आज्ञे हेबा बारि थिबु । १३७
चतुर पाइँ कलि आसि पुरिबाक मही ।
महानिन्द ब्रह्म उद्दे हेबे शून्यदेही ॥ १३८
नवकल्पटाक प्रभु उद्दे हे थिबे ।
खण्डगिरि मणिनाग कपिलास ठाबे ॥ १३९
फल पत्र नीर जल करिब आहार ।
वेद बिलुथिबे प्रभु ब्रह्माण्ड याकर ॥ १४०
नर मनुष्य हे आदि देवलोक याए ।
जाणि न पारिबे केहि प्रभुङ्क उदये । १४१
से शून्यपुरुष माने बिचार ये करं ।
नर सङ्गे संगे खेला करिबु बहले ॥ १४२
महाघोर पातक हेब अवनीर ।
मर्त्त्ये जात हेउछन्ति आज्ञारे आम्भर ॥ १४३
बुद्धरूप धरि गुरुरूपे ज्ञान देबे ।
कुम्भिपट देइ नाना प्रकाश करिबे ॥ १४४

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men will sing the praises of the name of Mahimā —to their hearts' content." 145-147.

From the above quotation it is clear and evident that Jagannātha generally passed for Buddha till the 41st aŋka (year) of the reign of Mukunda Deva of Utkala. And we have learnt from the pen of the Tibetan Lāmā Tāranātha, a historian of Buddhism, that this Mukunda Deva was in reality a staunch and faithful worshipper of Buddha and was generally known by the name of "Dharma-rāja." It was during his time that the notorious Kālāpāhāḍa carried on his formidable crusade against Hinduism and Buddhism; and it was with the close of his long reign that the Buddhists began to pass their lives in concealment and seclusion. Behind the temple which now generally passes as the Temple of Sūrya Nārāyaṇa, and situated within the very precincts of the famous temple of Jagannātha, is a gigantic statue in stone of Buddha sitting in the Bhūmisparça-mudrā. Strange to say, a massive wall has been built up just in front of this statue, completely obstructing the view of it from outside. This statue, which could otherwise have spoken volumes of past history, has all along remained a sealed book to the majority of observers and visitors. We have, however, come to know, as the result of a very sifting investigation, that this temple dedicated to Buddha is

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चतिहि ये स्रीपाद्य न चिनिबे केहि ।
पूर्व्वर भक्त ये चिनिब मोन मोहें ॥ १४५
ताङ मुखे प्रभुङ्कर भजन हेब ।
अलेख मण्डल शून्यपद ये रहिब ॥ १४६
भक्त जने गाइ तांका परम सन्तोषे ।
महिमा नाम गायन गुह उपदेशे ॥ १४७' (धर्म्मगीता । १ का)

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much older than the chief temple of Jagannātha itself. It is not at all improbable that upon the close of the career of Rājā Mukunda Deva, the obstructing wall was built up to hide the statue from the public eye; and it may also be the case that the tradition of the image of Jagannātha as Buddha being hidden from view dates its origin from this time.

Mahima-dharma or New Buddhism.

The Brahmanic theory that when the pan of virtue is quickly kicked up, Bhagavat undergoes incarnation and comes down into the world to lighten the heavy burden of sin and vice, is also shared by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. So the belief in the birth and life of a Buddha is in no respect absurd or incongruous. The followers of the Mahimā-dharma creed do indeed consider themselves blessed when they point to Khaṇḍagiri, Maṇināga and Kapilāsa as being the places where this new Buddha displayed himself in all his glory and splendour.

In answer to any query as to the date of the commencement of this new religious movement under the name of Mahimā-dharma or New Buddhism, the followers of the creed recite the following few lines from Yaçomatī-mālikā:—

"दिव्यसिंहदेवङ्क एकइश अङ्करे ।
अरिष्ट हइब जात ए कलियुगरे ॥ १६७
ऊनविंश अङ्कुकु ये युग आरे घोर ।
अतिहि प्रबल युद्ध हइब निकर ॥ १६८
एकचाळिश अङ्करे हेब समापत ।
चौवन से पुण एक धर्म्म सत्य ॥ १६९
नीच कुळे भन्न कुळ हुयन्ति से जात ।
अलेख नामकु गुणि हइबे आश्रित ॥" १७०

"In the twenty-first aṅka (year) of the reign of Divya-Siṁha Deva, will a very sad event

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occur in the Kali-yuga, and in the twenty-ninth year a very terrible war will break out, as sure as anything, and will end only in the forty-first year—re-establishing the only true religion. The devotee of this new creed, though of mean extraction, will, we hear, be in the special good graces of Alekha."

Thus we learn that the revival of Buddhism in the name of Mahimā-dharma took place in the twenty-first year of the reign of Divya-Siṁha, late King of Puri, *i.e.* in 1875. It was in this year that the devout Bhīma Bhoi, whose words were inspired, most solemnly declared to the world the truth and greatness of the Mahimā-dharma. And we have heard from the lips of the preceptors of this sect that it was about this time also that a large number of books, evidently written to establish the truth and high character of the religion, was discovered underground inside a large closed copper vessel. Chief amongst these are the works of Jagannātha, Balarāma, Achyutānanda, Yaçovanta and Chaitanya Dāsa.

The scriptures of Mahima Dharma.

The reader will surely be interested to learn, in this connection, the names of the books that are held as the greatest scriptures by these followers of the Mahīmā-Dharma. These are—1, Viṣṇugurbhapurāṇa and Nirguṇa Māhātmya by Chaītanya Dāsa: 2, Chhattiṣā or Gupta Gītā by Balarāma Dāsa; 3, Tulābhinā by Jagannātha Dāsa and 4, Çūnya-Saṁhitā and Anādi-Saṁhita by Achyutānanda Dāsa.

Bhima-bhoi Araksita-dasa.

We are conscious that before proceeding further, our first and foremost duty is to give here a brief account of Bhīma Bhoi, who is not only the leader but is almost the propagator of this renascence. We find the following

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autobiographical sketch in his own Kali Bhāgavata :—

Born blind, Bhīma Bhoi came of the low Kanda family and first saw the light of the day in the village of Jurandā in the Dhenkānal State. His full name was Bhīma Sena Bhoi Arakṣitadāsa. He managed to earn his livelihood by husking the corn and doing other menial works for his neighbours, but he always uttered the name of the Lord, and had his mind concentrated upon His thought. And thus were passed about the first twenty-five years of his life. At length, tired of the heaviness of his life, and extremely grieved that the Lord had not yet taken pity upon his wretchedness, he determined to put an end to his life. With this end in view, he set out from his cottage and in the course of his wanderings dropped down into a well. Here he passed three days and three nights. Hearing of this, the villagers flocked to the scene of occurrence and tried to pursuade him by all the means in their power to give up the determination of sacrificing his life ; but he turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties. At length the Lord took pity upon him and at the end of the third night He assumed His own form and standing upon the brink of the well addressed Bhīma Bhoi in an affectionate tone. The latter told him of the griefs that were gnawing at his heart ; whereupon the Lord asked him to look up and behold Him. And when in obedience to this, he turned his eyes up, the born blind saw above his head, in flesh and blood, the object of his loving adoration standing in all His glory ! His whole heart was overflowing with veneration. The Lord extended His hand towards him ; he seized it firmly and in the twinkling of an eye he found himself standing side by side with his god. The Lord said, "You

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have obtained this interview by virtue of your prayers to me. Now I ask you to go abroad, and to publish and spread my favourite religion Alekha Dharma." He then gave him a long flowing garment called 'Kaupina' and a belt with the following instructions, "You are to accept only alms of boiled rice for yourself. Take care that you never ask for or accept rice or anything else. And thus keeping together your body and soul with the boiled rice that you will get, you are to propagate the Mahimā-dharma." Then scrupulously following the directions of his Lord, he put on the *kaupina*, went to an adjacent village and begged alms. The owner of the house came out rice in hand, but he declined to accept this, and said "Just give me boiled rice sufficient for myself alone." The villagers heard of this, laughed at the queer idea and thought "What religion is this that aims at the abolition of the time-honoured caste system, by making its followers live upon alms of boiled rice, irrespective of the caste or creed of the giver!" They then conferred together and determined that this new religion, a much dreaded leveller of castes, should be allowed no room whatsoever in the village. And they translated their resolution into practice by beating him off the village. Bhīma Bhoi got enraged at this, cast off his *kaupina* and belt, and proceeded towards Kapilāsa. When he had gone half way, he met with his Lord. On hearing of the intentions of Bhīma Bhoi, the latter got extremely offended and exclaimed, "You have not as yet attained *siddhi*, I suspect, or why should you take to your heels after you have been beaten?" He then bound him fast with ropes and brought him back to Jurandā; and shut him in a temple. Then all the openings were closed and he said aloud "I

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shall clap thrice, O Bhīma Bhoi, and, if you have attained Siddhi, you will be able to come out." The Lord then sat down at the foot of a tree close by. He clapped thrice, and lo! Bhīma was standing before his preceptor again. At this the latter grew much pleased and said "I am satisfied now that you have attained *siddhi*. Now then I ask you to stay on in this place, to write verses about my religion and thus to spread it. You have no further need of wandering over the world." Bhīma Bhoi then married in compliance with the wishes of his preceptor and attended to all the household duties of man; but the underlying principle of his life was the propagation of his religion. To effect this he wrote several poetical works, the foremost being his Kali Bhāgavata, and composed many charming hymns (Bhajana-padāvali). In connection with our detailed treatment of the Mahimādharma hereafter, a few of these poems have been quoted *in extenso*, so we abstain from reproducing any here.

Ere long the fame of Bhīma Bhoi spread far and wide. Hearing his immortal instruction helping in the attainment of real knowledge and illumining the head and the heart, the mighty pillars of the caste system forgot themselves and stooped at his feet, though the blood of the low Kanda ran in his veins. They considered him to be a spark from the Eternal Flame of truth and knowledge and flocked around him like flies around a burning lamp. And then, before several years had elapsed, the Mahimā-dharma could count its followers by thousands. Bhīma Bhoi had heard a voice from heaven to the effect that with the revival of the Mahimā-dharma the hidden state of Jagannātha as Buddha would again be brought to light. To have this state-

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ment realised and firmly believing in it, he did now call upon his numerous disciples to come and join their forces with him. Fired with the zeal of devotion and piety, they madly obeyed his call and mustered strong under his standard. Indeed the most prominent part in the war, of which we read so much in Yaçomatī-mālikā and which, we are told, occurred in the 29th aṅka, of the reign of Divyasiṁha Deva of Puri,—the most prominent part in these wars was played by Bhīṁa Bhoi himself. Having equipped themselves, as best as they could, with the weapons of war, the people of about 30 villages marched upon Puri under the leadership of their preceptor. The news of their advance had already reached Puri, and the Rājā with his personal guards, was waiting to receive them duly. It was rumoured that the object of the Kumbhapaṭiā invaders was to burn the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā and spread the doctrine of Nirākāra among the people of Puri. No little consternation was caused by this. But the Rājā was determined to fight to the last; and he was reinforced by a body of police officers from Pipli. No sooner had Bhīma Bhoi set his foot within the limits of Puri than both the parties fell upon one another, and a fierce fight ensued. The holy city of Puri became polluted with the blood of the heroes of both sides. At length Bhīma Bhoi became convinced of the unrealizable character of his ambition, and so proclaimed amongst his warring disciples that the avoidance from doing any harm to others was the first principle of religion; and so they should not commit sin by injuring others. He did further announce that Jagannātha had already left Puri in the guise of Buddha and he now understood that it was

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not Buddha's intention that his image be brought to light again. What, then, was the necessity for continuing this bloody and sinful fight? Upon this instruction falling from the lips of their leader, the Mahimā-dharmins took to flight. Some of them were, however, captured by the enemy and imprisoned, and some were transported for life on charges of murder by the British Government.* At this juncture Bhīma Bhoi declared that no true religion had ever been established without self-renunciation and self-sacrifice. So the followers of Mahimā-dharma should not mourn the loss of those who had suffered persecutions at the hands of the infidels; they should rather bless and ennoble themselves by cherishing their stainless memories.

After this, for fear of persecutions by the Government they took shelter in the hills and forests of the Gaḍajāts of Utkala.

In Yaçomatīmālikā we find the following reference to those followers of the Mahimā-dharma that were the first to embrace it or that in any way helped in propagating it:†—

"I shall tell you, my son, the names of some of those followers who lived in the south. There is a trader in the circle of Padmapur, whose name is Hari Sāhu. He has married two girls of his own caste. You will know him easily; he is a devoted follower of mine. 193-195. In the east is

* Various false statements about this sect were made by the English and Vernacular papers of the time.

† "दक्षिण दिगरे कन्ति येतेक भकत ।
तारु नाम किछु तोते कहिबिरे सुत ॥ १९३
पद्मपुर मण्डलरे एक महाजन ।
हरिसाहु बलिण ये थिब तार नाम ॥ १९४

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Kuntibhoja bearing the name of Yogarāja. He will at first marry a girl of the Gārgara line, but she will soon pass off to that heaven which is the region of the Gandharvas. He will then marry a girl of the Siṁha family of Dhala-bhūma. 196-197. Inside her womb will be found, in the form of a lily, the footprints of Lakṣmī and out of that lily will be born the girl Viṣṇupriyā. When her father Yogarāja will be inspired with religious fervour, all the other devotees will also be so inspired—so great is the attachment between him and the souls of the devotees. When he will give up the ghost, he will lose himself in Brahman and will be unified with the west. The number of his followers has completed two lacs. 198-201. I shall now tell you of him who dwells in the north. His name is Rūparāja, and he has sprung from the Kṣatriya line. 202. And now I tell you of

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विभा हे थिब वेणी कन्या स्वजातिर ।
थितिथिब वड़ भक्त घटे से प्राभर ॥ १९५
पूर्ब्बे कुन्तिभोज योगराजा नाम वहि ।
प्रथमे गार्गर वंश विभा हेब सेहि ॥ १९६
से कन्या गन्धर्ब्बस्वर्गपुर चलि यिब ।
धलदेशे सिंहवंशे पुनि विभा हेब ॥ १९७
लक्ष्मीङ्कर पद्मचिह्न तार गर्भे थिब ।
विष्णुप्रिया कन्या से पद्मरु जात हेब ॥ १९८
तार पिता योगराजा प्रभरे नन्दन ।
से चेतिले चेतिबे आहुरि भक्तमान ॥ १९९
निज प्राण सङ्गे भक्त घटइ से टाण ।
अबश्यरे ब्रह्म बालु थिब शून्यब्रह्म ॥ २००
पश्चिम दिगरे ताकु मिशाइबे सुत ।
पूरिअछन्ति प्रभुङ्कर दुइ लक्ष भक्त ॥ २०१
उत्तर दिगर भक्त कहि देबा प्रथ ।
रूपराज बलि क्षत्रकुलरे जनम ॥ २०२

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those who live in the east. There is only one in Bengal. But there is also a king named Sabhānanda. He has married five wives with eyes like those of the gazelle. When he will marry again a girl of the Gaṅga family, he will be a devout follower of my religion and firm in his faith. 203-205. Both he and Jaya Sāhu, a Teli of the Ghāyā class, will live about the borders of Prayāga. And there are in Gaṇḍakī the great hero Bhuja Sena and the devout Kamaliā Mālik, a Paṭhān by caste. 205-207.

" These seven have linked together two hundreds of thousand devoted followers. To hear this, my child, makes the mind pure and free (from lust and passion). 208. Çrīdhara of the unclean caste, Çrīkaṇṭha of the Bhoja lineage, and Keçava, Nitāi, Guṇanidhi, Mārkaṇḍa and Çrīchandana of other castes—these seven devotees have brought together two hundreds of thousand

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पूर्ब्बदिके भक्त तीते कहि देबा फेर ।
एकला प्रबर्त्त ठाक बङ्गदेशे थाइ ॥ २०३
सभानन्द बलिण ये एक राजा अछि ।
पाञ्च गुठि विभा होइथिब से मृगाक्षी ॥ २०४
ए गङ्गबंशरे विभा होइथिब येबे ।
जाणिबु से प्रभुङ्कर दृढ़भक्त तेबे ॥ २०५
जयसाहु बलिण ये घाया नामे तेलि ।
ए दुइ थिबे प्रयाग सीमान्तरे मिलि ॥ २०६
गण्डकीरे भुजसेन बड़िया पठान ।
कमलिआ मल्लिकरि भक्त श्रीमान् ॥ २०७
दुइ लक्ष भक्त ए सातकु मिशाइण ।
निर्म्मल मनरे शुणि यायरे नन्दन ॥ २०८

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devoted followers 209-211. These devotees will assemble themselves, male and female, in the presence of the lord, and there divert themselves by playing eternal plays with him, and their voices will be ringing in the twenty-one regions. 212-213. The lord will place the four Vedas in Pātāla (the infernal regions) and will introduce and establish the Çūnyadharma based upon anasādhanā." 214.

The author of Yaçomatīmālikā has, no doubt, been lavish in his praises of the heroes of his sect, but the persons, he speaks of, are not all fictitious, as is testified to by one and all of this sect. Such a hint as this has also fallen from the lips of many that there are now not only descendants of some of these great men, but that they are practically helping, through in secret, the promotion and propagation of this creed. The pioneer and leader of this sect, Bhīma Bhoi, breathed his last only ten years back. His sons are now occupying the *gadi* at Jurandā. In various

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श्रीधर बलिय यै अयुब जातिरे ।
भीजधर्मी जात हव श्रीकण्ठ नामरे । २०९
केशव मिताह गुणनिधि नामे भक्त ।
मारकण्ड श्रीचन्दन चाहुरि भकत ॥ २१०
एते जन मिश्रिण यै हद लच भक्त ।
चेत्रपुर्व्व चटह से डाहनिया भक्त ॥ २११
एते भक्त रुण्ड हेबे प्रभुङ्क गहने ।
पुरुष स्त्री मिशिण प्रभुङ्क सन्निधाने ॥ २१२
अनन्त खेल करिबे प्रभुङ्क सङ्गरे ।
शबद शोभिब ताङ्क एकइश पुरे ॥ २१३
चारि वेद चर्म्म प्रभु पाताले चापिबे ।
अनसाधनारे शून्यधर्म्म दीक्षा देबे ॥ २१४ (यशोमतीमालिका)

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parts of the Gaḍajāts one will meet with members of this community even now. But the chief *gadi* is at Jurandā near the Kapilāsa hill in the Dhenkānal State (Bhīma Bhoi used to sit here; and now it is in the occupation of his sons). The next important place is the Baḍamaṭha in the village of Golāçiŋgā within the Baud territory. It is the local belief that after he had left the Nilgiri hills, Jagannātha lived here as Buddha. Beside these, Mayūrabhañja is interspersed with maṭhas of this sect. In the villages of Kulogi, Koipur, Jaypur, Purnāpāni, Kendari and Purniā in the subdivision of Bāmaughāṭi; at Merughāṭi in Uparabhāga, in the village of Kesnā in Pānch Pir, in Upper Dihi and in the village of Gandu in Joshipur; in Navāpūrā, Puraṇā Bāripadā, Tālapadā and others in the Mayurabhanja Proper, there is a large number of monasteries, big and small, of this sect. These maṭhas are also to be found in a large number outside Mayūrabhañja. In about 20 to 25 villages in Keonjhar, *viz.*, Sildā, Padampur, Rāŋgāmātiā, Pukhuria, Sarai &c, in almost all the Gaḍajāts such as Dhenkānāl, Baud, Dasapallā, Tālcher, Çonapur, Gāŋgpur, Pālalaharā, Rairākhole, Āthamālik, Padampur, Sāraŋgagaḍa, Rāyagaḍa, Kalāhandi, and in almost all the Killājātas, more especially in Āli, Kanikā, Bānki, Āḍang, Kujang, Sambalpur,—in all these places monasteries of this sect are to be found. The followers of this creed are divided into two classes *viz.*, Gṛhi (house-holder) and Bhikṣu or Sannyāsin. Almost wherever any large number of the followers of this sect have settled together, a small but neat and clean *matha* will attract the notice of the traveller. Amongst the Udāsinas (those who are indifferent to the ups and downs of life) only the most advanced are

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entitled to be the Mahānta *i.e.* the head of the monastery. Common Udāsinas or Bhikṣus find shelter in these monasteries. Amongst the members of this community, numbering not less than 25,000, there are to be found people both of the higher and lower ranks of society.

Monastic life.

The rules that regulate their monastic life are defined with some degree of clearness in the following lines :*—

"The Sujāti (well-born Bhikṣu) will discard all family usages and give up all (religious) practices and observances, such as the performance of sacrifices and the making of burnt offerings. 148. Cutting off all connection with his wife and children, leaving behind his property and doing away with all religious vows and ceremonies, he will put on barks of kumbhi trees (kumbhipaṭa)[1] and wander about with matted hair. 149. He will sow the seed of (the religion of) Mahimā in Jambu-dvīpa and will himself be blessed by finding his spiritual preceptor, Brahman. 150. Leaving the name of Anākāra Mahimā (and singing His glories) he will maintain himself by begging alms of the Nava Çudras. 151. From Telīs, Tantris, Bhāṭas, Kerās, *Rafakas*, Kulārakas, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Chaṇḍālas, listen O Garuḍa, no alms are to be taken. They

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* "सुजाति ये कुलधर्म समस्त छाड़िबे ।
होमकर्म याग क्रिया सकळ त्यजिबे ॥ १४८
दारासुत वित्तव्रत क्रिया त्याग करि ।
कुम्भिपट पिन्धि शिरे थिबे जटाधरि ॥ १४९
जम्बुद्वीपे महिमाङ्क बीज से बुणिबे ।
निज ब्रह्म गुरु पाइ आनन्द लभिबे ॥ १५०
अनाकार महिमा नामकु करि थिबा ।
नव शूद्र घरे मागि खेलुथिबे भिक्षा ॥ १५१

(1) Hence they are called *Kumbha-Patiya.*

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have been described before in the Çastras as impure. 152—153. These are of low origin and so have been marked out. 154. But the Nava Çūdras are really faithful followers of the Lord. So it is no sin to accept alms of boiled rice at their house. 155. By the great fire of the spirit of Brahman all (sins) are reduced to ashes (*i.e.* sinners are absolved); (so) he who begs alms from the house of a Çudra, commits no sin 156. * * * * * .

"No other alms (than boiled rice) are to be taken from the house of the nine Çūdras. And sleep has to be enjoyed in the proper time outside the town. 160. Death resides in the sleep which is slept in the day; and boiled rice partaken at night is productive of evil. 161. The devotee of the Lord will take his food at daytime and pass the night without food and keep awake at dead of night. 162. * *

तेली तन्ती भाट केरा रजक कुम्भारक ।
ब्रह्म चेवो चण्डाल ये चाबुरिआ चिक ॥ १५१
एहि नव जाति घरे भिक्षा न घेनिबे ।
अपह ए माने शास्त्रे लिखियाछि पूर्ब्बे ॥ १५२
ए माने अटन्ति अधा जन्मक जातकि ;
तेणु करि नव शूद्रे बाछि रखिछन्ति ॥ १५४
नव शूद्र अटन्ति प्रभुङ्क निज दास ।
ताङ्क घरे अन्नभिक्षा न लगाइ दोष ॥ १५५
महाब्रह्मतेजरे ये हुइ याइ भस्म ।
शूद्र घरे भिक्षा कलि नाहि ताङ्क दुष्य ॥ १५६**
नव शूद्र घरे अन्न भिक्षाकु भुञ्जिबे ।
नगर बाहारे काल निद्राकु काटिबे ॥ १६०
दिवसरे निद्रा कलि काल करे बास ।
रात्रे अन्नभोजन बाहारे हय दोष ॥ १६१
प्रभुङ्कर भक्त ये दिवसे भुञ्जिबे ।
रात्रे उपबास यमकालकु जागिबे ॥ १६२

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"Keeping awake at dead of night, you will kindle the *dhuni* (fire-pit) and thus you will be able to destroy the twenty-five causes (of creation). 230. Mutterings of prayers and set forms of meditation are useless. Only try to be indifferent (to the worldly concerns) and contemplate only the name of Mahimā." 231.

Other Points of resemblance with the Early Buddhists.

These ascetic rules (quoted from Yaçomatīmālikā) for regulating the monastic life among the followers of Mahimā-dharma are also found to have obtained in the Buddhistic Saŋgha from very early times.

Of the twelve or thirteen ascetic rules mentioned in the Buddhistic scriptures the Mahimā-dharmin monk has even up till now been observing the rules of Piṇḍapātika,[1] Sapadānachārika,[2] Ekāsanika,[3] Pattapiṇḍika,[4] and Khalu-paçchādbhaktika;[5] but these are never found to have ever been observed by Vaiṣṇava monks or ascetics or those of any other sect. Besides, the injunction of taking alms of boiled rice from the Nava Çūdras clearly marks these Mahimā-dharmins out as quite distinct and aloof

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निशि उजागरे रहि धूनि कि जालिबु ।
पचिश प्रकृति तेबे नाश करिबु । २३०
जप नाहि तप नाहि उदासी भावरे ।
एका महिमाकु नाम जपिबु हृदरे ॥ २३१ (यशोमतीमालिका)

1. This is "the rule to live on food obtained by begging from door to door."

2. A rule, enjoining "a proceeding from door to door in due order when begging."

3. It enjoins "eating at one sitting."

4. It enjoins "eating from one vessel only."

5. It prohibits "the taking of a meal after it has become improper to do so; this has been interpreted as partaking of food already refused and superfluous."

Dr. Kern's Manual of Buddhism, p. 75-76.

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from the Vaiṣṇava or any other Hindu sect. The latter will, on no account, partake of boiled rice which has been cooked by Çudras or other low caste people.

Although Mahāyānists of the middle ages had yielded to the worship of a number of gods and goddesses, yet the Ādi Buddhists or the Hīnayānists had no faith whatsoever in the efficacy of these worships. And such is also the case with the modern Revivalists or Mahimā-dharmins. Nay, they follow the Hīnayānists more closely. As a sequel to the introduction of the worships of the sun and fire into the primitive Buddhist society, the Hīnayānists have not been able to throw off these deities altogether, though they have done away with the worships of others. And it is very interesting to note that in the Yaçomatī-mālikā of the Mahimā-dharmins, lingering traces of this faith are also to be met with.* And just as the Buddhists of the middle ages regarded Buddha or Bodhi-sattvas as being 'Devātideva' *i. e.* God of gods, the Mahimā-dharmins also look up to Jagannātha or Buddha

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* "वेळी घड़ि राव थाउ स्नान करुथिवे ।
उदे अस्त रविङ्कर दर्शन करिवे ॥ १७१
अस्त वेले होइ पदि सन्ध्ये माव याइ ।
नमस्कार करुथिवे अस्तगिरि ध्याइ ॥ १७२
अग्निदेवताकु किछि भक्ति मानुथिवे ।
अन्य देव देवी केहि किछि ना मानिवे ॥" १७३

"A little before dawn you will take your bath and see both the rising and the setting of the sun. 171. Just after sunset you will fix your mind upon and bow to the Astagiri (the mountain behind which the sun was supposed to set.) 172. You should have some respect for the god of fire but not any the least respect for any other god or goddess. 173."

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as being the greatest and most supreme object of worship*

We have also heard with no small surprise the essential principles of the instructions of Lord Buddha that are known in the Buddhistic circle as Dhammapada, fall from the lips of the greatest Sannyāsins of this sect. To satisfy the curiosity of the reader, let us quote here a few couplets from the Padāvali of Bhīma Bhoi, the principal scripture of this sect.

The following song was sung by him addressing the Çūnyapuruṣa[1]—

"Though Thy body is Çūnya being destitute of all forms and colours, yet Thou hast revealed Thyself. There is there no trace of a cloud, still

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* "सर्व्वदेवता च बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतिता। ततो राज्ञा शुद्धोदनेन बोधिसत्त्वो देवतानामप्ययं देव इति तेन बोधिसत्त्वस्य देवातिदेव इति नामधेयं कृतम्।"

"All the gods also fell down at the feet of Bodhi-sattva. The king Cuddhodana said "This Bodhi-sattva is the God of gods" and thus the name Devâtideva was given to Bodhi-sattva."

Divyâvadâna, p. 391.

(1) "शून्य-देही कहिन उदे होइ रूप रेख नाहि हे। (घोषा)
बरसुचि जल, नाहि मेघकुल, न थाइ पवन, उनचास बाट वहे घन घन।
बहुयछि जल, नाहि नदीकूल, उलकपात धारा होइ हे॥ १
लक लक उदा पकिला होइछि, कपाट न फिटू नेत्रे दिसुछि,
से ठारे आश्रम अनुदित ब्रह्म, उदे अस्त नाहि तंहि हे॥ २
बालिमाटी नाहि उबकुचि हद, गङ्गाजल छड़ि कूपजले साध,
अभिव मुकति न बुड़िव जाणि, पूर्ब्ब पुण्य चिर्लं पाइ हे॥ ३
नियंहटा पद निष्कामे निर्व्वेद, कल्पना ना करि धर पदपाद,
न वाञ्छित दधि न करा पन मन्यो याञ्जा भरला न देहि हे॥ ४
डाल पड़िचछि नाहि डबमूल, पुष्प कढ़ नाहि फलि अछिफल,
फुटिछि पतर डिम्प नाहि तार सउाधना मार्गे पाइ हे॥ ५
पति पत्नी रूपे करंन्ति युगल, इन्द्रियगन नाहि पिन्धिछि सकल,
से प्रभु पयरे सेव निरन्तर, भणे भीमसेन भोइ हे॥ ६"

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there are showers of water (from above); no wind, but all the forty-nine kinds of it are blowing furiously and frequently. Water is (found) flowing, though there are no rivers, and there are (also) meteoric showers. 1. There are there frequent flashes of lightning, but no one closes his eyes. In such a place is the abode of the unborn Brahman. There is here no rising or setting (of the sun..) 2. There is here no sand or earth and the waters of the Gaŋgā are overflowing. But if I can worship (Him) even with the waters of a well, I shall obtain salvation without losing the caste which I have come to possess through the merits of the previous life. 3. Without conceiving the Eternal Feet as attainable (only) through works done without any thought of or desire for the results and indifference (to the world), cling to the lotus-like feet (of Brahman). No need of condemning wishes and desires, no need of making one's self destitute (of all hopes and passions) and no need of giving up all hopes and expectations. 4. Shade without the tree, the fruit without the bud, and the flower and the leaf without the stalk—all these are talks of (people who follow) the way of Asādhana (non-worship). 5. He manifests Himself by creating the couple of the husband and the wife, and puts on barks of trees having no end of the senses. And so Bhīma Sena Bhoi requests all, always to worship the feet of the Lord who is so great."

These lines were addressed by Bhīma Bhoi to his Guru or preceptor Buddha-svāmin.[2]—

" O Thou, that art the formless and imageless Brahman, Thou art now revealing Thyself having

(2) "अनाकार अरूप ब्रह्म-मूरति हे । एबे विजे करिछन्ति धरित्री हे ॥ (पद)
अरूप पुरुष रूपवन्त होइले, ब्रह्माण्डरु बाहारिले,

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assumed a form. Though the Formless Person, You are now possessed of a form and have come down to the world to do good to Your devotees, being full of kindness and mercy. Now be pleased to save the piṇḍaprāṇa from the ocean of māyā and fill it with devotion. 1.

"Though the Unknowable Puruṣa, You are now bearing a name for the purpose of saving the world. When a man will live upon the juice of Mahimā-dīkṣā (initiation into the Mahimā-dharma) brought about by indifference (to the world) and thus will free himself from the sins of his previous births, then will he attain, O my Lord, salvation—the end of the Virtuous. 2.

"The Indefinable Puruṣa has made himself known by coming down as a guest (as it were, into the world). The glory of Alekha is simply indefinable; He, who is the Lord of the twenty-one worlds, can be reached only through the kindness and favour of the Preceptor. 3.

"The Unimaginable Puruṣa through His imagination had limbs grown to Him. You see Him with your eyes; yet by despising Him who

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भकत हितकारी करुणा कृपाधारी, मायासिन्धुसागरु एबे उधार करि,
पिण्डप्राणकु देइ कर भकति हे ॥ १
अगनिता पुरुष नामकु वहि, रखा निमन्ते मही,
निर्वेदरु प्रकाश, महिमा दीक्षा रस, भजि थिबे पारिब जीव पूर्व्व कलुष,
तेबे पाइब सदगति मुकति हे ॥२
अचिह्न पुरुष हे थि चिह्निया देले, आपे अतिथि होले,
अलेख पद जेहु लेखि न होइ सेहु, गुरु पये प्रकृता अटन्ति महाबाहु,
एकुइश भुवने सेहु नृपति हे ॥३
अकल्पन पुरुष हे कल्पन कले, अङ्ग सर्व्वे जनमिले,
आज हे करतांकु नेत्रे देख देख, निन्दित कर पक्ष भजुपक्ष काहाकु,
एबे महिमा-धर्म्म पछि पिरिति हे ॥ ४

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is it that You are worshipping? Know that this world is still existing only because there is the Mahimā-dharma. 4.

"The Imperishable Puruṣa, He is never to perish; and not only He, but Guruvīja and the disciple, these two also are never to perish. All the days do pass in great bliss, the very sight of Guru destroying all evils. 5.

"In this dark Kaliyuga He has revealed Himself to the world, having assumed a form. Save this there is not a single word, so grand, so sweet and so capable of redemption. With great humility does Bhīma Arakṣita bow down at the feet of the Lord, which can confer emancipation. 6."

Incarnation of Buddha.

We have now been able, we hope, to establish the fact that the Mahimā-dharmins of the Gaḍajāts of Orissa are simply Buddhists. Like other Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School, they are also passing their days in the firm belief and hope that Buddha will again be incarnated. We could not do better than quote the following few lines from their Yaçomatīmālikā to show their belief in the incarnation of Buddha and the real nature of their creed—

"थाहि कलिमध्यरे भकते छन्ति रहि ।
बुद्ध अवतार रूप दर्शन ना पाइ । १७७
विहारमण्डले शून्य गादि तुलाइवे ।
से अलेख प्रभु धुनिकुण्डे गुप्त थिबे ॥ १७८

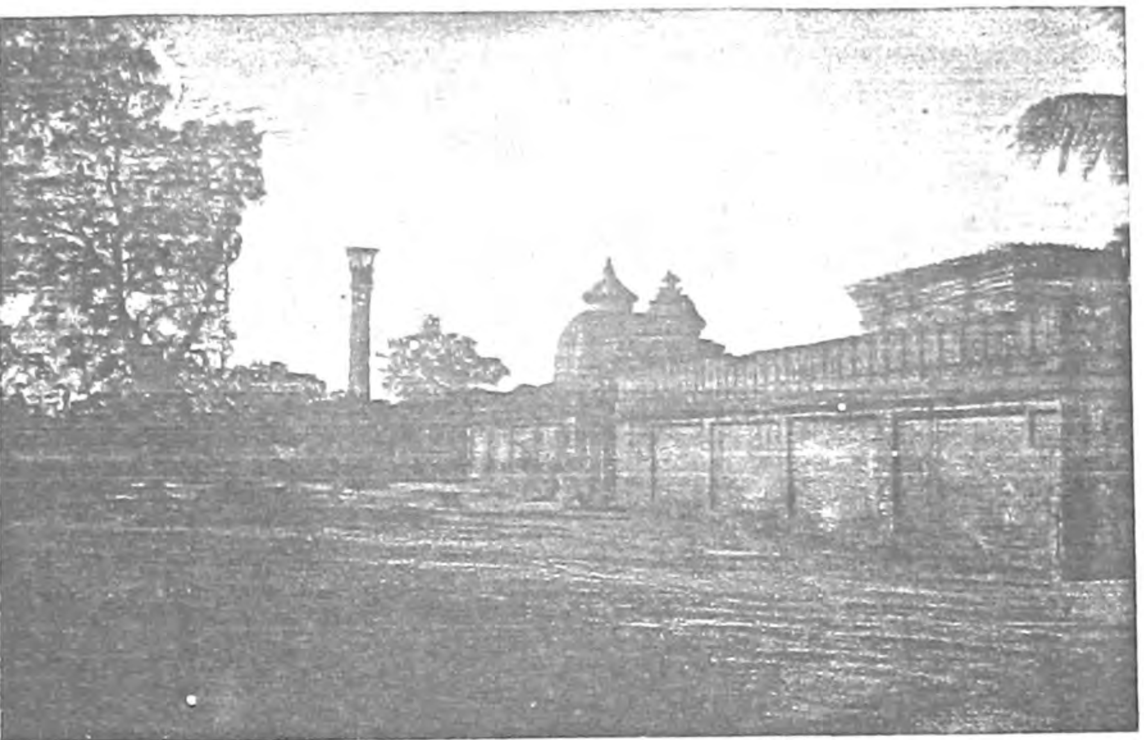
अक्षय पुरुष सेय देवाकु नाहि, एकु नहि दुइ नष्ठान्ति गुरुवीजे शिष्य नाहां'ति केहि,
बड़ हि मा पछे सर्ब्ब दिन याउछि हि, गुरुदर्श मे सकळ काळ विपति रे ॥५
देहधारी होइछन्ति महीमण्डले, ए घोर कलिकाळे,
एमना एकाक्षर नाहाहि जीरवर, वचन सुधाधार मुक्तिदायी पयर ,
भणे भीम अरक्षित करि विनति रे ॥ ६"

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मायारूपे बुद्ध अवतारे नरदेही ।
भक्तजन हिते भक्त उद्धारिबे पाइ ॥ १०९”

"In the Kaliyuga the devotees are passing their lives in disguise, though they have not yet seen the form of the incarnation of Buddha, in the hope that the *gadi* (seat) of the Çūnya will be established in the province of Behar and there the Lord Alekha will lie concealed in the Dhuni-kuṇḍa (fire-pit). The Alekha will through His creative power, assume the form of a human being in the incarnation of Buddha for the good of His devotee, who will thus attain emancipation".

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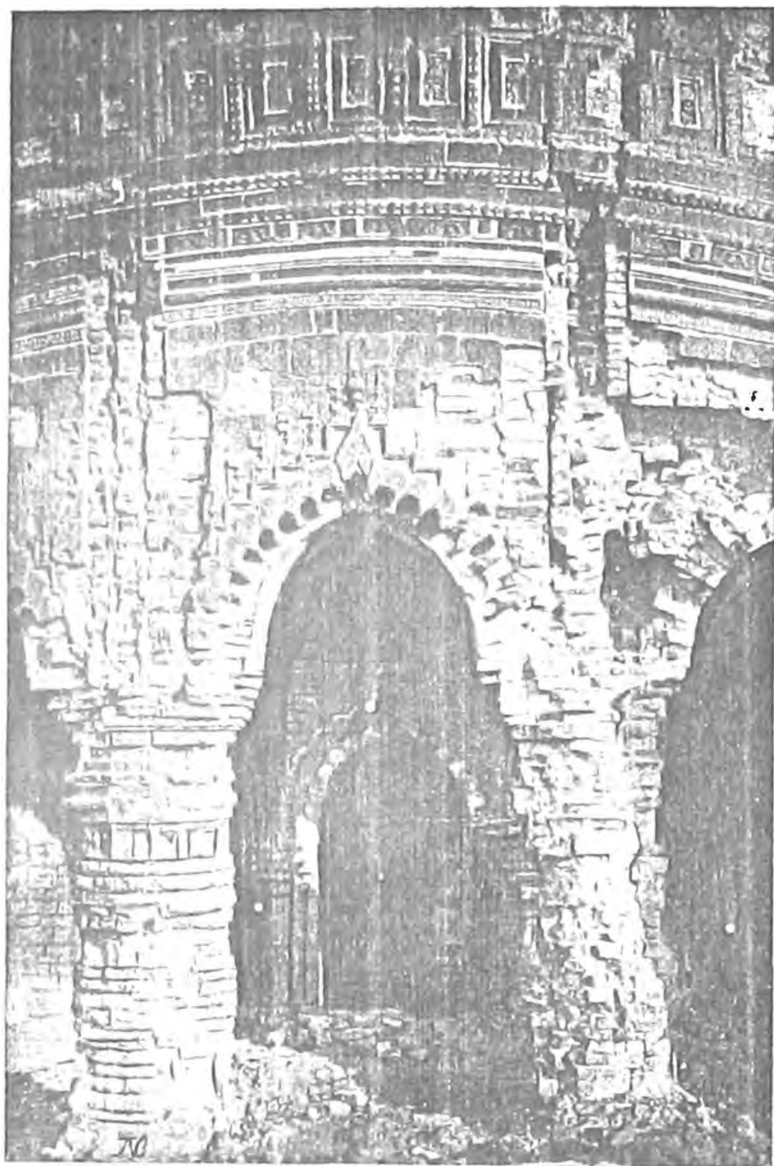
56. Temple of Budâ Jagannâtha *at Bârīpadâ.*

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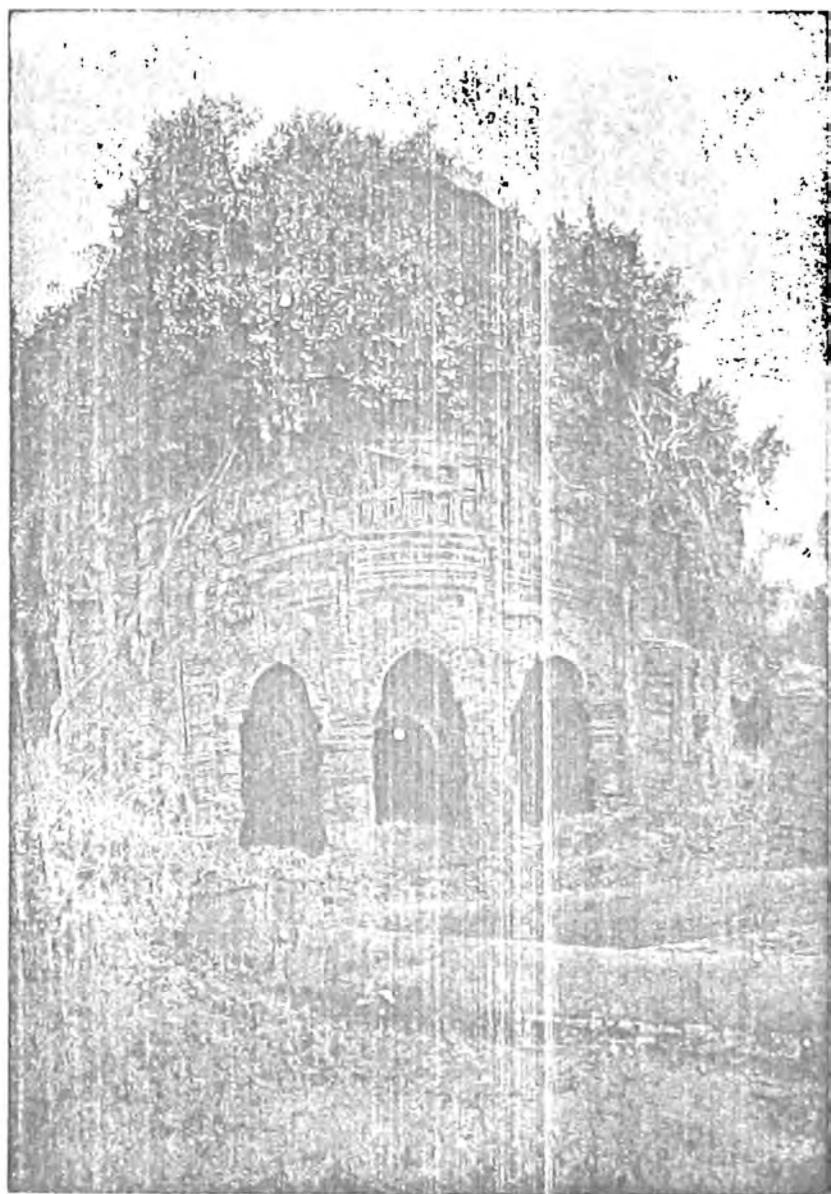
62 Telengâ Gate *at Haripur.*

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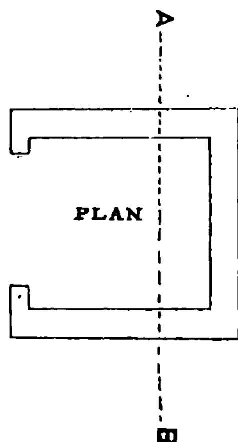
59 Carving and Bas-relief of Rasika Râya Temple.

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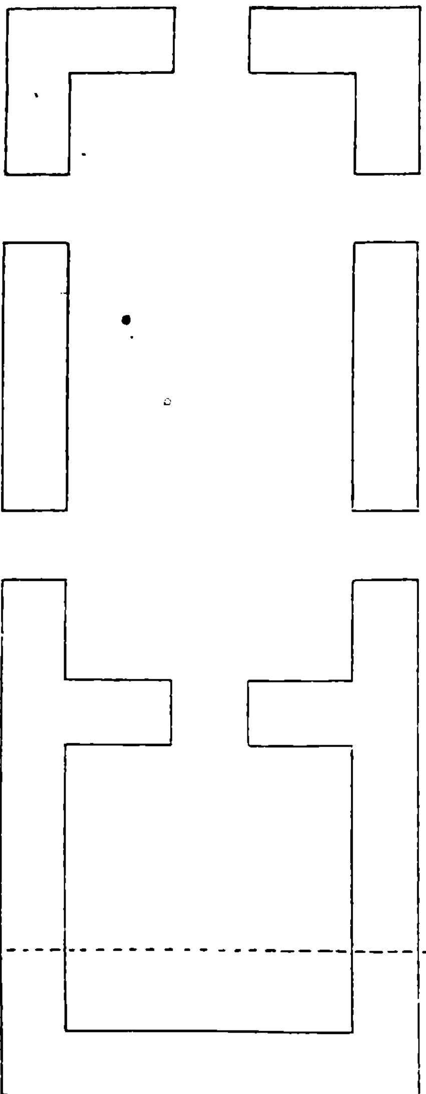
58. Temple of Rasika-Rāya *at Haripur.*

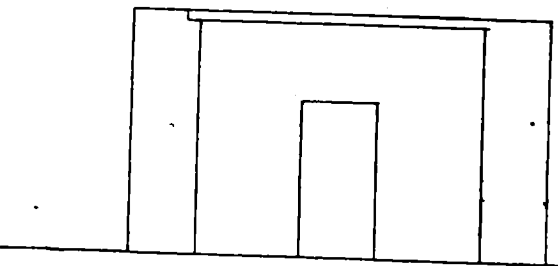
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No. 65. Plan of Pāça-Chandi Temple.
Scale 10 feet = 1 Inch.

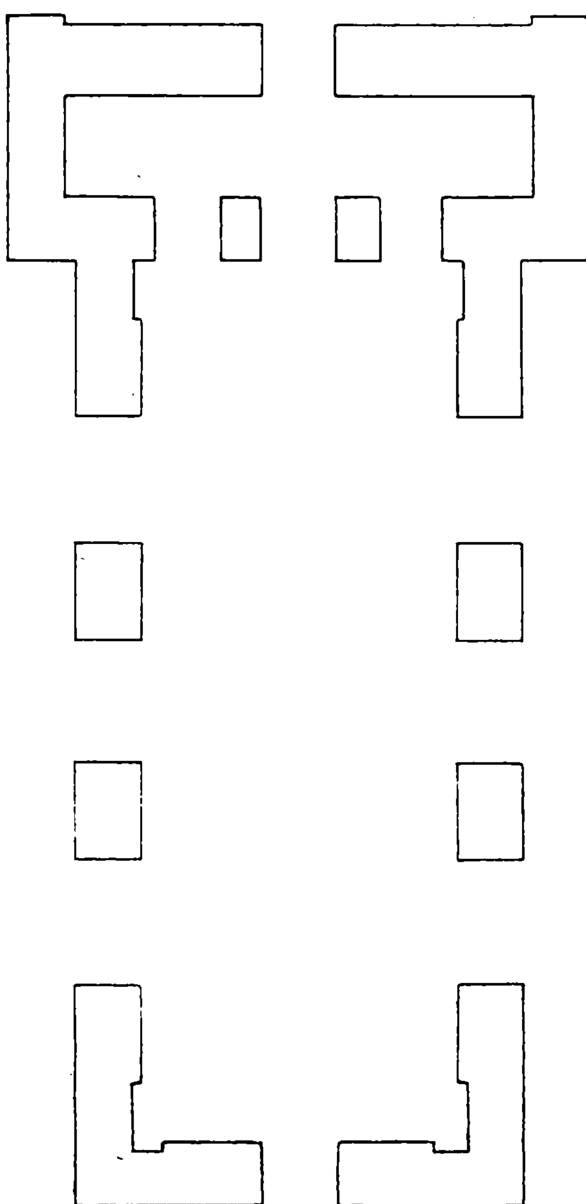
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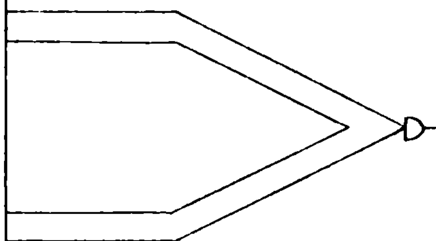
No. 61. Plan of Rādhāmohana Temple.

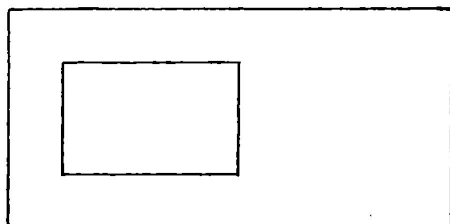
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No (III). PLAN OF Rasika-Rāya Temple.
Scale 10 feet = 1 Inch.

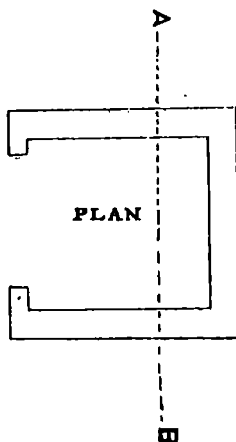
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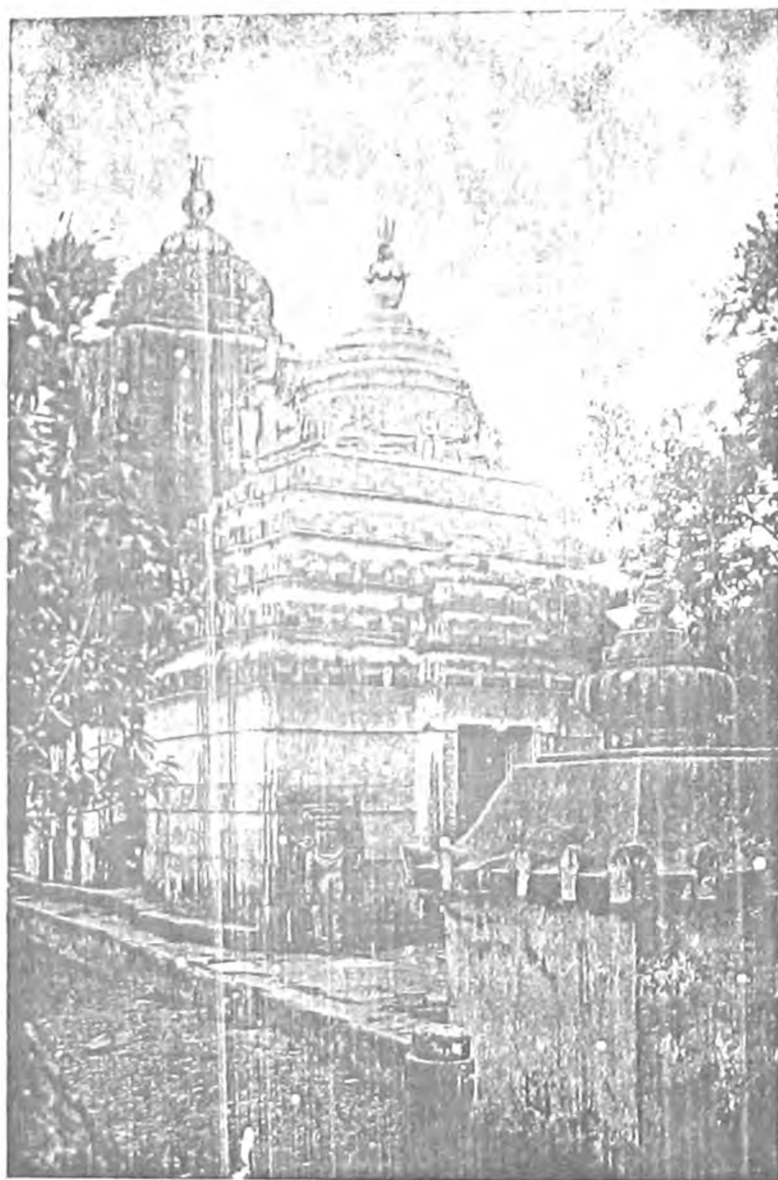
PLAN of an old temple newly discovered at Baghsāi.

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No. 65. Plan of Pāṇa-Chaṇḍi Temple.
Scale 10 feet = 1 Inch.

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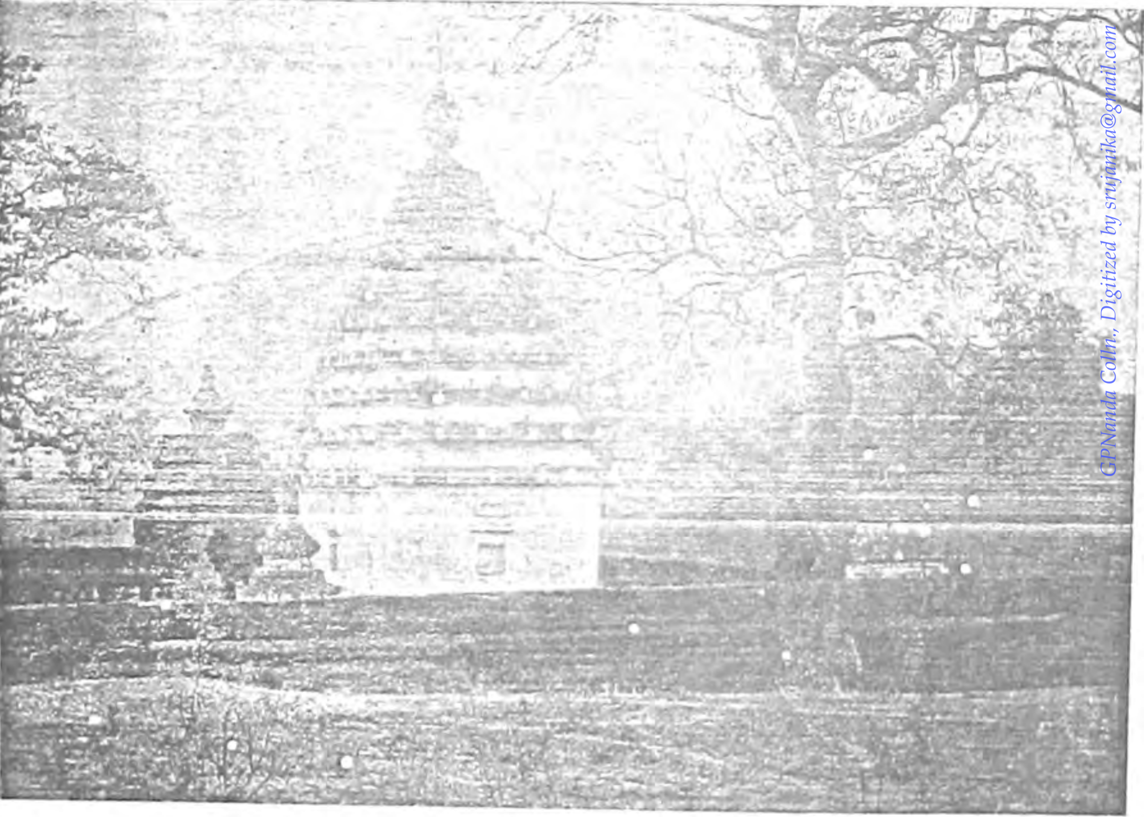
75. Temple of Maninâgeçvara *near Bhîmpur.*

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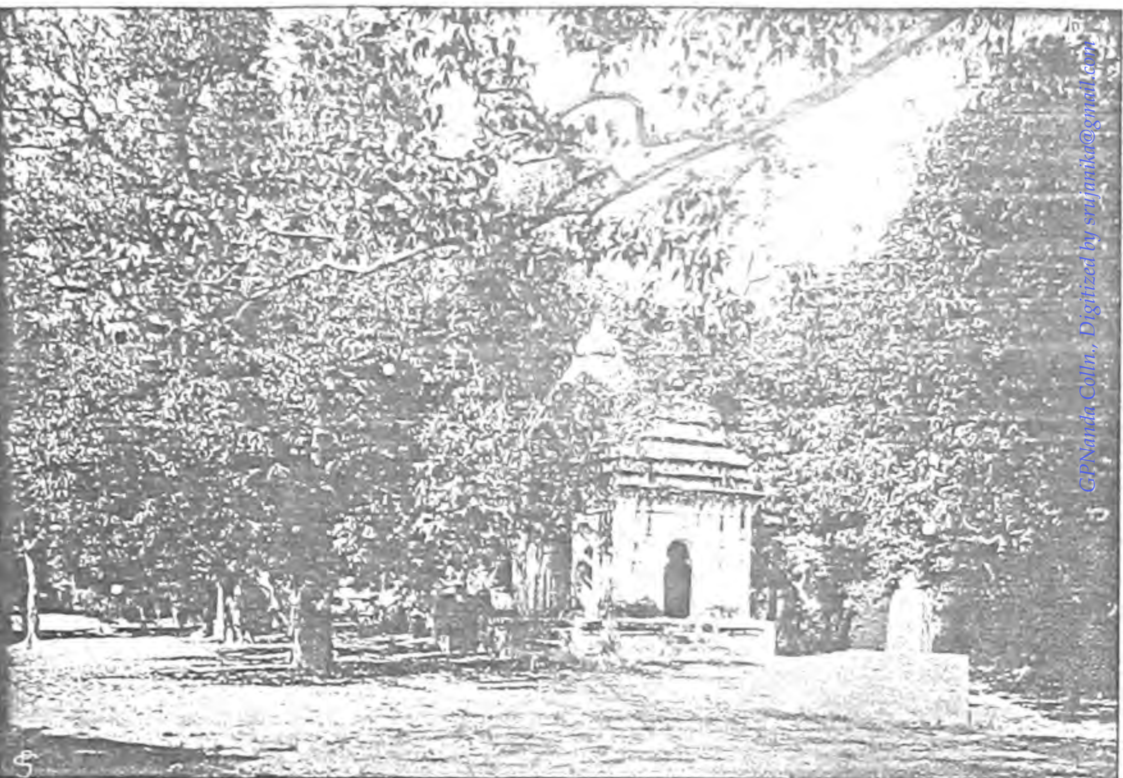


76. Doorway of Manināgeçvara Temple *at Manināgeçvara.*

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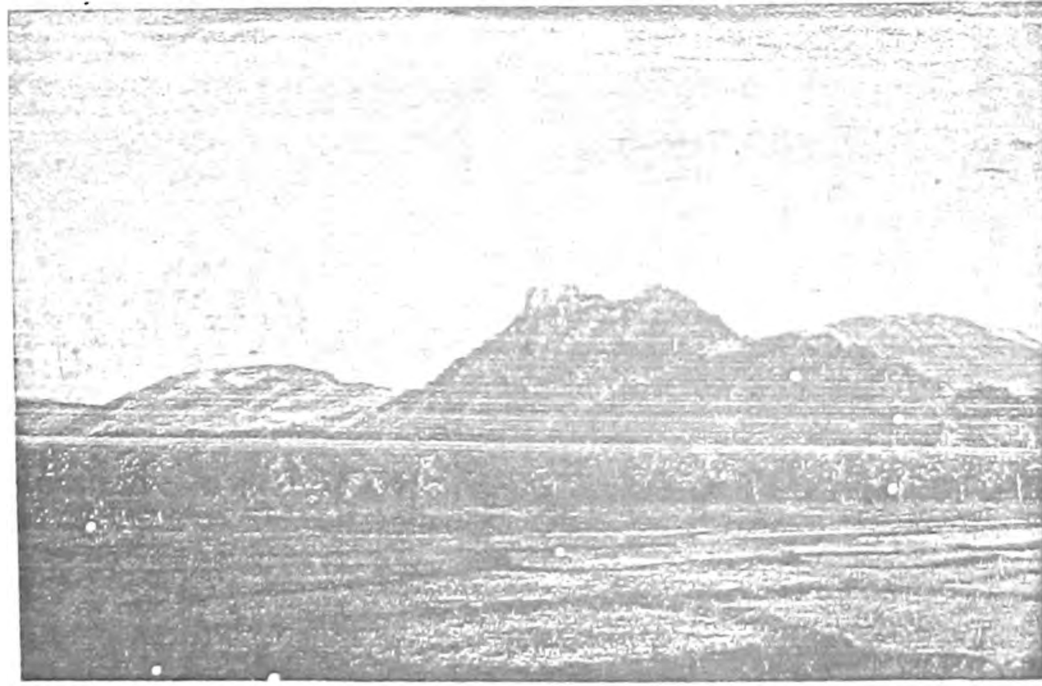


71. Temple of Uttareçvara at *Ayodhyâ.*



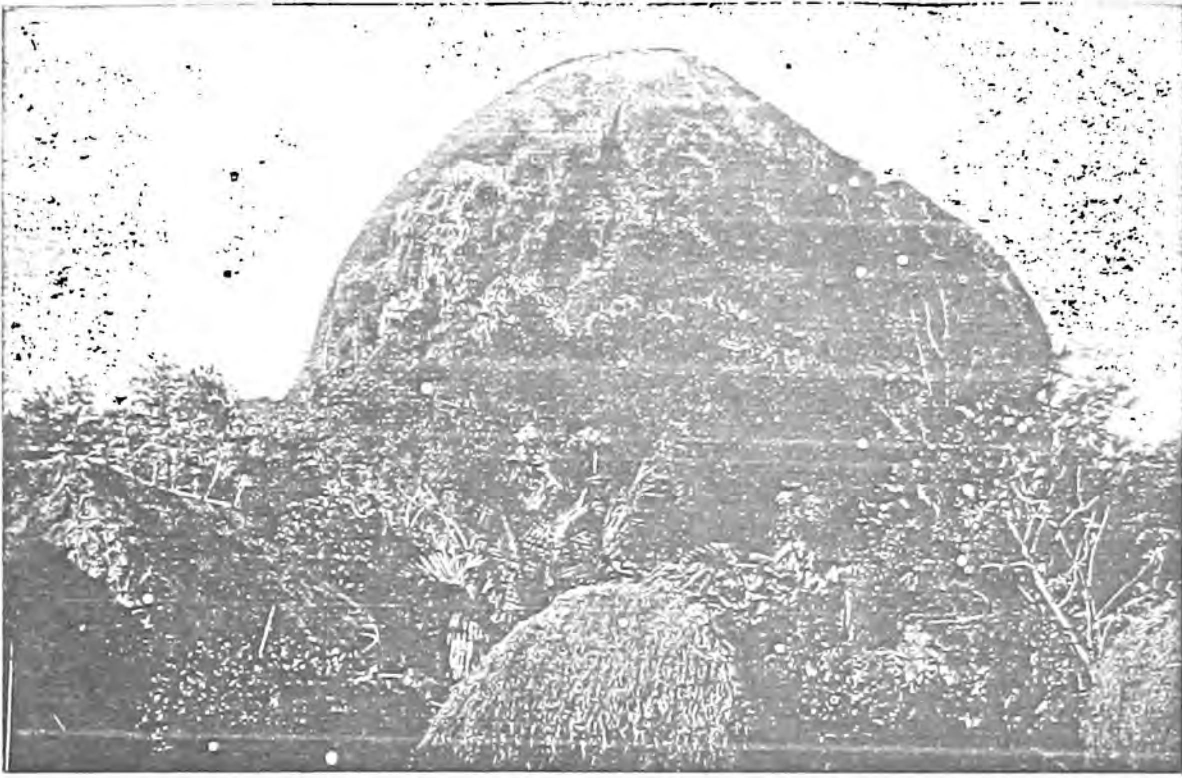
73. Temple of Maninâga with ancient Vâpi *at Purânagdon.*

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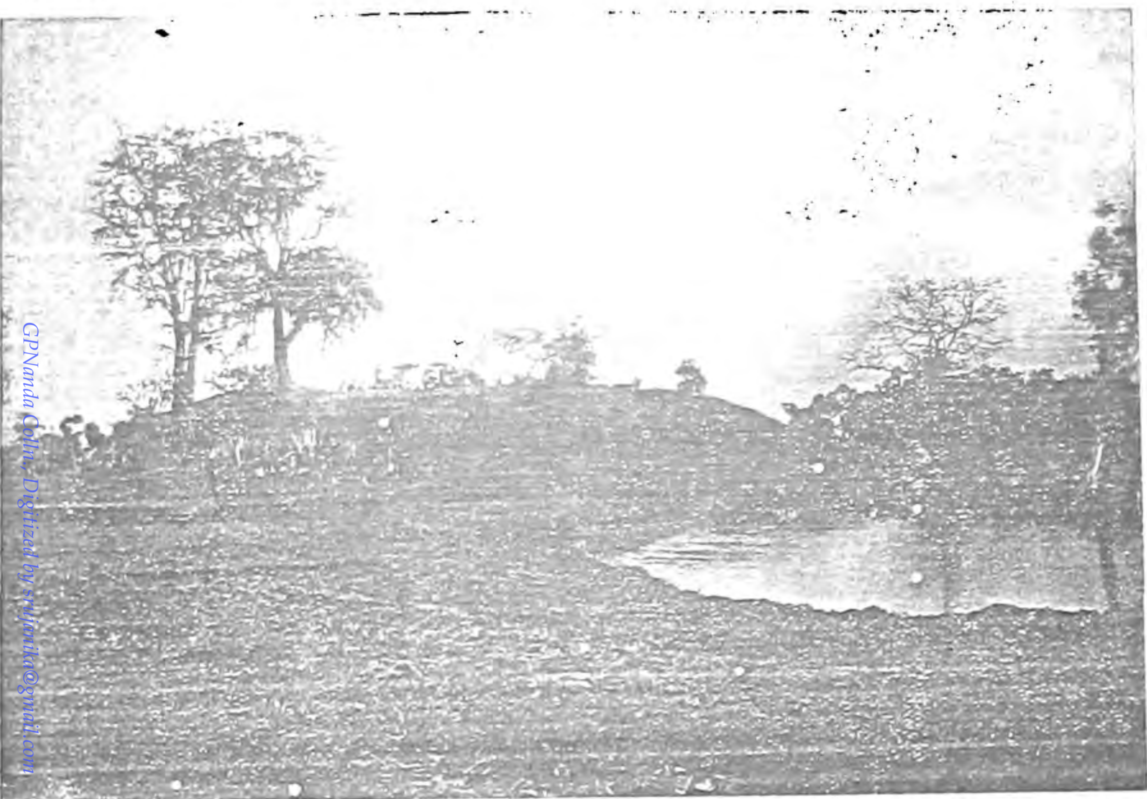
70A. The Pâtamundi Rock.

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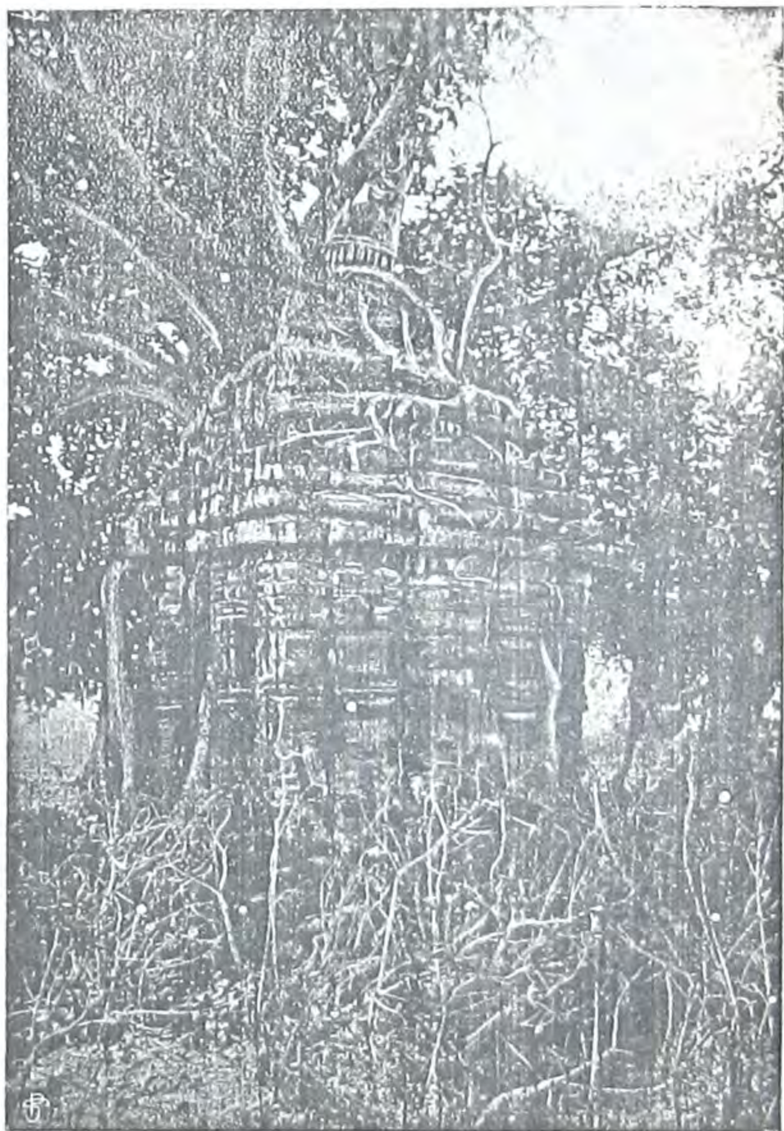
70B. Camivṛiksa *near Purâdiha.*

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67. Ruins of Canthilo-garh *near Betnati Stn.*

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64. Temple of Pâça-Chandi *at Badsâi.*

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68. Temple of Kakbâruâ Vaidyanâtha *at Mantri.*



69. Dhudhnâ Vâruni hillock.

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78. A Muhammadan Saint *from Kâsiâri.*

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77. Ruins of Cakhisenâ-garh *at Mughalmári.*

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78 A. Persian Inscription *from* *Kasiari.*



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78 B. Persian Inscription *from* *Kasiari.*



45. Vajra-Târâ *from Ayodhyâ.*

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